

The Nation.

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The Week.

President Roosevelt's Fourth of July speech at Pittsburgh bore out the rumors that he would maintain a bold and unyielding tone in the matter of Cuban reciprocity. This he did, throwing "tact" to the winds. Party managers may well wring their hands over a President who bluntly says in public that he "regrets" what the party did, or failed to do, in Congress, and who defiantly tells them that the policy which they rejected will yet be adopted "as sure as fate." Fate has too many secrets in her grim keeping to make that an absolutely sure word of prophecy; but it is something to have an outspoken man in the Presidency, who thus throws down his gage to his political enemies in the presence of the people. What Mr. Roosevelt had to say about the Philippines was in line with the sentiments of his amnesty proclamation issued on Friday. The peace which all have so ardently desired has come at last; and the Administration's hope is that the army will have to be used no further in the archipelago except as a kind of temporary police force. The President intimated a parallel between our course in Cuba and that in the Philippines which is highly suggestive. If our goal is the same in either case—if, indeed, our conduct towards the Filipinos is to be made, in the end, on all fours with that towards the Cubans—then we may expect that the establishment of a civil government, in which the inhabitants are to have a share, will lead directly to their entire control of their own affairs. To that end the President is bound to strive, unless he is willing to see the Declaration of Independence made, as he said on Friday, a tissue of "meaningless platitudes." Mr. Roosevelt recurred emphatically at Pittsburgh to his former declaration about the need of special legislation by Congress to restrain Trusts and monopolies. His positive endorsement of Attorney-General Knox was something more than the flowery tribute which every member of the Cabinet is entitled to, on the Presidential travels, in his own home; it was a fresh definition of Mr. Roosevelt's platform.

Monday's dispatches from Manila again illustrated, and very clearly, the unreliability of the Philippine news upon which the American people depends for its information as to what is going on in the archipelago. The Associated Press telegrams state that Aguinaldo is in fear of his life, now that he has been released from confinement, and that he

does not dare to call upon Acting Governor Wright except at night time. This timidity is due, it is stated, to apprehension lest the friends of the late Gen. Luna attempt to take his life. All this is very interesting, indeed, but the *Sun's* correspondent will have none of it. He telegraphs as follows: "Aguinaldo says he does not fear the vengeance of the friends of Gen. Luna, who, it is charged, was assassinated by Aguinaldo's orders." Yet it is from these two correspondents that all the telegraphic news comes which reaches the United States. If their situation requires respect for the civil and military authorities in the islands, there is nothing to prevent their toadying to the powers that be and praising them to the skies. They may make or unmake the reputation of any officer. In Manila the signs that the two correspondents cannot forget the existence of a press law would seem to be more or less conclusive. In the Gardener case, for instance, the amount of space given to the defendant is very small compared with that bestowed upon the other side, and the bias in favor of the Administration is quite plain.

Despite the confident assertions of a few weeks ago, that Gov. Taft would conclude his negotiations with the Vatican in "record" time for such diplomatic transactions, they are not yet completed. The stumbling-block is apparently the American request that all the friars be withdrawn. The cardinals would naturally like to have the friars of other than Spanish nationality remain, and enough of the Spanish to man the universities. None the less, the desire of the Vatican to keep on good terms with the United States is obvious as well as the wish to expedite matters. It is, of course, a dangerous precedent for Rome to set—this expropriation or forced sale of property of religious orders. At best some odium will cling to those who give up the rights of the four orders in return for cash, particularly as there is danger that such a wholesale withdrawal and the influx of American Protestants will seriously weaken the great power of the Church in the Philippines. While the cardinals of course realize that the United States has the whip hand, and are anxious to make as good a bargain as possible, some doubtless cannot forget that they are candidates for the Papal tiara. This is said to be particularly the case with Cardinal Rampolla, who, in addition to being Papal Secretary of State, is also protector of the Augustinians.

Dr. Henry C. Rowland, lately an assistant surgeon in the army, contributes

to the current *McClure's Magazine* a noteworthy article, entitled "Fighting Life in the Philippines." In this he explains from the medical point of view how it is that American officers and soldiers can murder and torture natives. He is able to press home his points by personal observation in the field and in hospitals. Chronic homesickness he found was one of the most serious disorders with which the surgeon has to contend in the archipelago, for it frequently results in acute dementia. One excellent sergeant, for instance, suddenly became insane, fired upon his own comrades, and then deserted to the Filipinos. Two days later he returned unharmed, but confused and depressed. A corporal suddenly jumped out of a hut, sprang upon an innocent native, and beat him unmercifully until overpowered by ten fellow-soldiers, who took the madman to the hospital. Here he recovered within twenty-four hours. Still another reliable soldier was caught in the act of deliberately murdering a Filipino—just as the ex-soldier who surrendered himself in California the other day declares that he did. An officer who was ordered to the hospital raged and threatened to kill the medical officer. "Quantities of such cases might be cited," Dr. Rowland declares, "all going to prove conclusively that, under certain unaccustomed conditions, it is possible for men to behave in a manner entirely foreign to all prehabitudinal impulse, as the result of unusual influences upon which they have no gauge."

We observe that the Imperialists have left off their chuckling over Admiral Dewey's explanation that, when he said the Filipinos were more capable of self-government than the Cubans, he meant that neither people was capable of it. This was a rather roundabout and misfire joke at best, but it was never one which could do the Republicans any service. If Dewey is an infallible oracle, what becomes of that Cuban self-government which has been set up amid Republican rejoicings and self-gratulation? It is obviously a mistake and a sham, and a Republican Administration is much to be blamed for letting the Cubans cut loose at all. If, on the other hand, the opinion is maintained that the Cuban republic is doing very well, there stands the assertion of the Admiral that the Filipinos could make one do better. Moreover, here is a Republican Congress boasting of having given the Filipinos self-government at least to the extent of authorizing a Philippine Assembly. That is another blunder, if Dewey's dictum is impeccable. That officer, it is probable, shares the old military notion that the capacity for self-government

means only a willingness to obey the orders of a superior. He feels, with Wellington, that a Constitution is out of place on a man-of-war, and it is an easy step to deny impatiently that it is in place on a given piece of land—Malta, in Wellington's case, the Philippines in Dewey's.

Even short-memored Americans can recall the time when Gen. Fitzhugh Lee was a great authority on Spanish misrule in Cuba. Widespread indignation used to be aroused in this country by his accounts of the evils from which the Cubans suffered. Yet we do not suppose that the picture he now draws of the miseries and threatened disasters of Cuba, resulting from the prostrate condition in which the United States left the industries and finances of that island, will either attract much attention or arouse deep feeling. At the same time, there can be no doubt that he speaks words of truth and soberness. His description of the unhappy posture of affairs in Havana is borne out by all the impartial evidence available. All disinterested observers agree that the new Government is in rough water and laboring heavily; that President Palma is at his wit's end to stave off national bankruptcy; that he is beset by hordes of clamorous office-seekers, for whom there are neither places nor money to pay their salaries; that the Treasury is empty and revenues falling; that loans are necessary, yet can be negotiated only at ruinous rates; that retrenchment is imperative, but is possible only in the departments of education, public works, and sanitation; that the negro citizens, especially the colored soldiers of the Cuban army, are demanding offices and back pay, and are threatening to make trouble if their desires are not heeded. Gen. Lee's assertion to this effect is only an echo of what we hear from returning travellers and correspondents, and of what is to be read daily in the columns of that impartial witness on the spot, the *Diario de la Marina* of Havana.

We got from the Cubans the Platt Amendment. That is down in black and white. It is a part of the Cuban Constitution. It binds the Cubans, while we remain absolutely free; and the promise that President McKinley and Secretary Root gave them in return, has been cynically broken. How ill at ease they are in such a situation, and how directly their plight provokes them to show a proud sensitiveness, may be seen in the request of the Cuban Government that we take away the stock of coal belonging to us, which was left on a dock at Havana. They do not want to have even the appearance of American control. Secretary Moody very properly undertakes to remove the coal. This should

have a good effect. It should tend to make the Cubans discredit such an absurd dispatch as that published the other day by *El Mundo*, saying that President Roosevelt had telegraphed President Palma "forbidding" him to form a Cuban militia. Yet the Platt Amendment remains a continual cause of vexation to the Cubans. Under it, for example, they agree to maintain the American methods and standards of sanitation. If they did not, if yellow fever should be allowed to infest Havana again, there would be a speedy cry that the Cuban Government was a failure, and that annexation was forced on us in self-defence. But what the Cubans say is that the force of Major Gorgas is one very expensive to maintain; that it is as much for our benefit as theirs; and yet that we have disabled them from having a revenue adequate for such an outlay, while forbidding them to economize. No wonder they are sore. They will soon be called "ungrateful."

A full statement of Gen. Wood's payments from the Cuban Treasury, for the purpose of obtaining legislation from the Congress of the United States, was sent to the House on the eve of adjournment. The total is \$15,626. Of this sum, \$1,350 went to the *Havana Post*, an American paper, which evidently did not daily flatter the Military Governor without expecting something in return. Its rival, the *Havana Herald*, with the natural envy and spite of one not allowed to bask in official sunshine, openly asserted that the *Post* was subsidized from the palace, and that Gen. Wood, in his soldier's simplicity, was paying the full retail price, instead of getting his thousands of copies at a wholesale rate. Putting all this one side, it is obvious now that, with whatever good intentions the payments were ordered, they were indiscreet and improper. Quite apart from their secrecy, and from the boomerang effect which their unexpected publication had upon Congress, they were in violation of the one principle which should have ruled our military government in Cuba throughout. This is, that we were there as trustees, and that all Cuban revenues were in the nature of a trust fund. It is clear that, to-day, the Cubans would be only too glad to have that money back in their Treasury. If they had, and in addition the sums which Gen. Wood gave to buy off the opposition of Gomez and others, the Cuban Government would not be obliged to cancel its contract for the education of Cuban teachers in this country, for lack of \$30,000.

The closing of the successful meeting of the Southern Educational Association in Chattanooga calls attention anew to the educational revival in the South. Unlike the annual conference of the

Southern Education Board, this association is made up wholly of Southerners actually engaged in teaching work. Being free from Northern influence, its proceedings show all the more clearly how Southern teachers have become aroused to the great need of an upbuilding of the school systems of their section. The resolution passed by the association calling upon the State Legislatures to meet school districts half way in providing for district libraries, is merely a symptom of the liberal spirit everywhere manifesting itself. While such a school library would primarily benefit the scholars, it would also exert a great elevating influence upon the surrounding homes; and an appreciation by the parents of the work of the schools is one of the aims which the educators have most at heart. A South Carolina delegate to the Athens conference in May, for instance, declared that he would speak from every stump in the State, if necessary, to further the educational revival. It has suddenly become plain to teachers throughout the South that if really rapid progress is to be made, those of mature age, as well as the young, must be brought to a realization of the financial and practical, as well as moral and intellectual, advantages to be obtained through a sound education.

So marked is the growing liberality in educational matters in the South, particularly in accepting Northern aid in the building up of schools and colleges, that the crass narrow-mindedness of the Louisiana Legislature in the matter of school histories becomes the more glaring by contrast. This worthy body has decreed that no text-book shall be used in the schools of the State which does not give Rear-Admiral Schley full credit for the naval victory at Santiago. There has been some excuse in the deep-seated antagonisms of the civil-war period for the attempt to prescribe histories of that time written from the ultra-Confederate standpoint. But this effort to say what shall be or shall not be put into a school history in regard to the events of 1898, goes much further in the way of prejudice and illiberality than anything which has yet been reported. Doubtless we may yet hear of a Southern Legislature's decreeing that President Roosevelt's Administration shall become known to the youth of its State only as one of "infamy" and of "insult to the South," because of the Booker Washington dinner incident. Plainly the Louisiana Legislature is itself very much in need of an educational revival. We would suggest a course of lectures by James Ford Rhodes, Charles Francis Adams, and others upon the true meaning of history and the proper attitude of the historical writer. It would then learn the folly of its resolution, beside which King Canute's attempt to assert sovereignty over the ocean was an

act of wisdom. Rear-Admiral Schley's place in history will be decided by the verdict of his brother-officers, the adverse findings of the court of inquiry, and the opinion of unbiassed foreign experts.

Last week's report on the movement of national bank circulation during June has a special interest. It proves, if further proof were necessary, the intimate and unfortunate connection between this form of money supply and the condition of the Treasury, and it shows that the resulting evil has been for the present checked. At first glance, an uninformed observer might be puzzled to understand why such a connection should exist at all. But the order of events is as plain as a syllogism. Bank circulation depends on the Government bonds deposited by the banks as security for the notes. An excessive public surplus is usually dealt with here by redemption, on a considerable scale, of the public debt. The Treasury's bids for such a purpose force the bonds to an artificial price. The profit thereby guaranteed induces the banks to sell their bonds, as a result of which they have to reduce their circulation. All this is nothing new to us. In the fiscal year 1887, for instance, the surplus revenue was such as to draw very seriously on the money market, and \$125,000,000 of bonds were bought in by the Treasury. In 1888, \$71,000,000 were redeemed for the same reason; in 1889, \$120,000,000; in 1890, \$104,000,000; in 1891, \$114,000,000. The result was contraction of \$26,000,000 in bank notes during 1888, \$31,000,000 in 1889, \$25,000,000 in 1890, and \$18,000,000 in 1891. With the Treasury piling up idle surplus, even after these lavish and at times extravagant bond-redemptions, something very like a real contraction of the outside money supply was in progress.

This contraction, it will be observed, was wholly independent of any conditions properly governing movement of circulation. Almost exactly the same phenomenon arose last autumn. Bank circulation based on bonds had expanded, between the enactment of the law of 1900 and the close of last September, \$115,000,000. It still showed a general tendency to increase when the Treasury's unexpectedly heavy surplus, and its consequent large withdrawals from the money market, forced Mr. Gage to resume his bond-redemptions on an extensive scale. Between that date and the close of last March, the Treasury bought in \$35,890,000 of its bonds. During exactly the same period, bonds of the national banks, deposited to secure outstanding notes, decreased in amount \$11,100,000, with, of course, an equivalent contraction of circulation. The first act of Mr. Shaw was to stop the

bond-redemptions, with a view to stopping the quite artificial contraction of the currency. Since March, not a dollar of the public debt has been redeemed. Retirement of notes continued for a month or two, probably for account of banks which wished to strengthen their cash reserves. Now it has stopped entirely; during June, there was an increase, for the first time in nine months, in bonds held by the banks to secure circulation, and outstanding notes increased. It is quite manifest, however, that even this normal movement is a result of accidental circumstances; that, had the Treasury surplus kept on draining an active money market, the contracting process could not have been arrested. The whole episode shows the fatal weakness of the present bank-note system—a system which for security is admirable, but, for the other normal functions of a currency, hopelessly out of joint.

An aged merchant in this city has planned a unique beneficence—an institution which shall succor worthy self-supporting people, temporarily under stress of poverty or of physical disability. This new charity will not compete directly with the present hospitals, for it will draw neither from the well-to-do classes nor from the very poor, but from the average independent wage-earners. Its organization will permit it to treat those cases of comparatively slight illness and of tedious convalescence which the hospitals undertake, if at all, only at a sacrifice of efficiency. The character of the trustees of the Winifred Masterston Burke Relief Foundation, so splendidly endowed, insures a wise administration of this unusual trust; while the fact that the donor, Mr. John M. Burke, gives the funds outright, and will during his remaining life serve upon the Board of Trustees, happily brings to the shaping of this novel benefaction the counsel of the mind and heart which conceived it. Mr. Burke's is comparatively an obscure name in this city. It is a redeeming feature of our restless civilization that, where thousands are moving heaven and earth for notoriety, there are always a few modest citizens of every city who are silently planning how to turn their personal prosperity to the general good, and who finally present a great scheme of benefaction with no more circumstance than they use in any customary transaction of their day's work.

The most important action thus far in connection with the meeting of the Colonial Premiers in London has been the Imperial Government's refusal to suspend the Constitution in Cape Colony. This decision is all the more striking in view of the fact that Lord Milner has gone on record, unofficially, but publicly, as desiring "to preserve the Col-

ony from the disastrous consequences which are likely to result from the resumption of Parliamentary and party strife before the bitter passions excited by the war have had even a little time to subside." Of course, Lord Milner, like the forty-two members of the Cape Colony who petitioned for the suspension of the Constitution, wished it understood that their views implied "no defection from the principle of responsible government." But the English Cabinet has apparently realized that the South African public would not take a suspension in this broad-minded spirit, particularly that part of it which has lately been won over to peace by a promise of eventual total self-government. The truth is, that Lord Milner and his followers fear that in Cape Colony the Dutch and their sympathizers will be in the majority, and their kind of self-government does not include anything but English supremacy. The English party at the Cape is divided on the suspension proposal; the Premier, Sir Gordon Sprigg, being against it, partly in view of Lord Milner's promise in 1899 that there should be no curtailment of Constitutional liberties as a result of the war. Not only Sir Gordon Sprigg, but others of the visiting premiers, have had a hand in bringing about the decision, for fear of the bad effect such action as urged by Lord Milner would have upon their colonies. Aside from this personal reason, they have urged a policy which is in line with the best English Constitutional traditions.

The announcement that the King of Italy and the Czar will soon exchange visits, gains a piquancy from this added item, that, while Victor Emmanuel III. will find time to make the return trip by way of Berlin, he considers Vienna too inconvenient a stopping-place on the way to St. Petersburg. This certainly lends color to the repeated rumors of alienation between Austria and Italy. It is undoubtedly something of a chagrin to the tenant of the Quirinal that no Austrian sovereign or prince of the blood will make an official visit to Rome, for fear of disturbing the delicate but friendly relations which exist between the dual monarchy and the Vatican. It may be felt that a punctilio of this kind has no longer serious political weight; but the fact that the Italian King visits the Czar in the first instance, and elaborately omits to visit the intervening Emperor, shows at least that the Triple Alliance lacks something of its old fervor. Amateurs of prophecy about the Eastern question will not fail to point out the fact that Italy may well be seeking assurances from the arbiter of the East in the matter of Montenegro and Albania, where her interests clash directly with the supposed ambitions of Austria. But one does well to leave the Levant on the lap of the gods.

VACATION TRUST-HUNTING.

All accounts agree that the President's Pittsburgh declaration about "great corporate fortunes" is but the preliminary to an active political campaign against Trusts. He is to devote his vacation to their pursuit. Instead of the Big Game of the Rockies, which has so often before been the trophy of his holiday bow and spear, he plans to return this time with the pelt of the *Octopus Vulgaris*. Representative Littlefield is to be called in as a brother-Nimrod. The Attorney-General is to visit Oyster Bay, not for the purpose of hunting the common or garden Trust which alone haunts that peaceful shore, but to help the President load his anti-Trust cartridges for his fall shooting on the Western stump. The idea is to equip him with a high-powered rifle, in the shape of a bill embodying his idea of the "new legislation" needed against Trusts, before which every Trust that roams the prairies shall go down.

We would not be thought to speak flippantly of the President's plans. He is, no doubt, in dead earnest. His sincerity, in the position which he has taken on this subject, is as unquestionable as his courage. We cannot, however, blind ourselves to the fact that a long-range summer fight with Trusts is a very different thing from coming to close grips with the monsters in the winter at Washington. From such a hand-to-hand contest the President and his party have just emerged, and the Trusts were not the ones to come out of it "considerable shuck up like" and "permiscuously chewed." The truth is, as a careful study of the habits of the Trust will show, that animal is what may be called an aestivating instead of a hibernating species. It sleeps peacefully the summer through, caring not for the loud cries of its assailants on stump or platform. But when the winter comes, with an actual bill in Congress, like Mr. Littlefield's of this year, then it appears all teeth and claws, and by the time the Trust gets through with that bill, its own father would not recognize it.

This well-known fact is what suggests the present political futility of President Roosevelt's aggressive movement against the Trusts. He intends, his friends say, to spike the Democratic gun. But he will need to be exceedingly careful lest he furnish that piece of artillery with an extra charge of powder. Just what is the cry which, it is evident, the Democrats will raise against the Republicans in the Congressional campaign of this autumn? Obviously, that the party in power, with an ample majority and abundant time, did not so much as report in Congress a single measure for the restraint of monopoly. Now, to bring out a vacation bill on the subject will look, in the first place, perilously like confessing that the Democratic charge is true. The retort

will be ready to hand: "If you think such legislation is imperatively needed, why did you not enact it during the last session of Congress?" President Roosevelt can hardly reply that Congress was too busy heeding his urgent request for Cuban reciprocity! And simply to make a fresh promise of doing, in the crowded short session, what no time was found for in the long one, would put the party too much in the attitude of being the party, not that "does things," but that is always going to do things.

Another pitfall will lie at the President's feet. What is he going to say about the relation of the tariff to Trusts? He cannot be unaware of the line of attack which the Democrats will take up. They will maintain that the Republican party is so protection-mad that it dares not touch a customs duty even when it can be shown to inure to the benefit of a Trust. In support of this contention, they will point to a solid Democratic vote in Congress in favor of taking off the tariff from all Trust-made products, and a nearly solid Republican vote against it. Here is no question of problematic control of Trusts by special legislation, thrown at once into the courts. It is, rather, an opportunity to cut away at one sharp stroke a needless and noxious protection enjoyed by monopolies. How is the President to excuse his party's attitude on that subject? Can he expect to stir up agitation about Trusts, and yet be silent, and have his party silent, in regard to this one definite and perfectly feasible way of clipping their claws? When a man goes Trust-hunting, he must not put aside the most direct and immediately deadly weapon he might use; or, if he does, he must expect to have some awkward questions put to him, and will have to give a transparently clear explanation of his course.

In referring to these personal and political difficulties which the President is certain to encounter, we must not be charged with belittling or discouraging his enterprise. We consider it of the highest moment if it signifies that Mr. Roosevelt intends to assert his leadership, and that he means to break with the timid and selfish counsels of party managers in the matter of monopoly, as well as of Cuba. He understands perfectly by this time, we have no doubt, that he has nothing to hope, but everything to dread, from the bosses and the promoters. He has heard, we presume, of that magnate who said, in the bitterness of his wrath at President Roosevelt's suit against the Northern Securities Company, that he was prepared to spend \$1,000,000 to prevent his renomination. To shrink before such threats would be neither safe nor shrewd for Mr. Roosevelt. Whatever the party leaders may think of him, he is extraordinarily popular with the Republican rank and file. We can interpret his announced pro-

gramme in only one way: he means to go directly to the masses of his party, and secure for himself such a support as will enable him to obtain the legislation he thinks necessary for Cuba, or against monopoly, whether the party bosses will hear or forbear. It is a greatly daring plan, and it may fail; but it reveals the President as a man who does not shrink from the duty of leadership, and who knows how alone to assert and apply it—namely, by going over the heads of the managers to the people.

PROTECTION OF MINORITY STOCK-HOLDERS.

There is much in the present situation of the "small investor" to arouse sympathy. The rate of interest has fallen very low, and the rate of taxation has correspondingly risen; for a tax of 2 per cent. on property that pays 4 per cent. interest is twice as heavy as the same tax was when the property paid 8 per cent. The proper, and we might say natural, investment for moderate fortunes is in mortgages on real estate; but our system of double taxation renders this investment frequently impracticable. A citizen of New York may, it is true, put his money in a savings bank, which can then put it into an untaxed mortgage. But the bank will accept only a small sum from one depositor, the theory being that such institutions are for the accommodation of poor people. Thus the inducement to invest in corporate stocks is very strong. In most States such stocks are taxable but once, and as the taxes are generally paid by the corporation, the stockholder is relieved from annoyance.

But nowadays the stockholder finds that his security is elusive. He may learn any day that his property has been, or is to be, taken from him; and it does not make much difference whether the process is called stealing or reorganization, or enlargement of the field of the enterprise. True, he does not often lose the whole of his property; but he finds its status impaired. He can no longer dismiss his investments from his mind, as matters that, having been once properly investigated, need no more attention. He must decide whether he will pay an assessment or be "frozen out"; whether he will take other stocks in place of those with which he was satisfied; whether he will surrender stocks for bonds or bonds for stock.

Sometimes he does not need to decide. The matter is settled without consulting him. The holders of the second-mortgage bonds of a great railroad in the Southwest were told not long since that the directors had sold bonds amounting to \$30,000,000, which became, in the judgment of some people, practically a prior lien. The stockholders of a great railroad in the South suddenly learned that the directors had decided to issue

bonds to a large amount for the purchase of the stock of a railroad of questionable value. Other instances will suggest themselves to every one. Many of what were known as "investment stocks" have become the footballs of speculators. "Buying for control" now constantly alarms the conservative investor. Before he knows it, men whom he believes unscrupulous and dishonest may have acquired a majority of the stock of a company in which he has a large interest, and he must wait in terror for the announcement of some scheme of plunder.

It is true that the directors of any industrial enterprise must have freedom of action. They must not be hampered when there is a sudden stress, nor be compelled to explain matters in which secrecy is important. But there are well-defined limits to their powers. There are established principles of law, of general application; and there are specific limitations in the charters of corporations. In his recent book, 'Facts and Comments,' Herbert Spencer comments on the disregard of the rights of the smaller number by the majority, and on the submissiveness with which such disregard is accepted. This, he says, is because

"Freedom in its full power—the power to carry on the activities of life with no greater restrictions than those entailed by the claims of others to like power—is understood by very few. Men who take shares in a company formed for a specific purpose, and then think themselves bound by the vote of a two-thirds majority to undertake some other purpose, do not perceive that they are aggressed upon—do not see that those who have entered into a contract are not bound to do a thing which they have not contracted to do, and that therefore they are wronged."

Mr. Spencer concludes that the doctrine of the unlimited power of rulers, whether nominally despots or representatives of the majority of the people, has so infested the world that few are to be found to resist it. For the present, he thinks there is no probability of anything better, but a probability of something worse; "for the retrograde movement now going on towards the militant social type is inevitably accompanied, not by relaxation of authority, but by enforcement of it."

This is perhaps too gloomy a view; but if we do not presently see a defensive movement on the part of investors whose rights have been impaired by the malfeasance of their trustees, the event may justify Mr. Spencer. These wrongs have taken place on a rising market, and most men do not worry over increased liabilities while they see their stocks quoted at advancing figures. But the time to maintain a right is when it is attacked, and stockholders may well ask themselves if it is not their duty to resist such attacks as have recently been made. The fidelity insurance companies have not yet undertaken to protect stockholders against frauds committed

by trustees who have used their fiduciary position for their own gain; but they may presently see their way to enter this field. The small stockholder can generally not afford to bring an action, which is necessarily of the most difficult character, nor are stockholders unacquainted with each other able to combine. Actions by the public prosecutors amount to nothing; there is hardly a case where such an action has really resulted in the punishment of an offender by anything more than a trifling penalty. It may be necessary to require the trustees of corporations to give substantial bonds for the faithful execution of their trusts, and the companies executing such bonds would be obliged to prosecute offenders. It is certainly for the interest of stockholders to hold promoters and members of syndicates to a sharp account; and in this case their duty and interest coincide. What is lacking is the determination to resist aggression.

MUNICIPAL LIGHTING.

The working of the Massachusetts Municipal Lighting Act of 1891 is examined by Mr. A. D. Adams in the June number of the *Political Science Quarterly*. Up to the middle of 1900, thirty-seven cities and towns had voted for municipal ownership, but only seventeen had done more than this. Seven towns have constructed new works, no private plants having occupied the field; nine have bought the works of existing companies. In one case the town refused to buy a private generating plant, and it was moved away. Three towns agreed with the private concerns on terms of purchase and avoided litigation. In six cases the terms of purchase had to be settled by the court. The town of Middleboro bought by agreement a plant which did not pay operating expenses. Hull bought by agreement a plant which earned 3.7 per cent. Hudson bought a plant appraised by commissioners at \$15,300, on which sum it paid 7 per cent.; but the plant was not found satisfactory, and a new one was built for \$17,000. Wakefield bought a plant appraised at \$144,680, on which capital it earned 1.2 per cent. Only Westfield seems to have made a good investment; but the 9.6 per cent. earned by its plant is none too much for interest and depreciation.

This record should certainly be sufficient to cool the ardor for municipal ownership, and most towns will probably wait to see further results of the experiment before trying it themselves. It is the opinion of Mr. Adams that the existing law is responsible for this flagging zeal. The law provides that, if the municipal Government decides to take up the lighting business, it must buy out whatever plants are already devoted to that business, if the owners are

willing to sell. In order to prevent compulsion, no rights granted in the highways can be revoked while the question of municipal ownership is pending. Attempts have been made to modify the law, by repealing the clause requiring the purchase of existing plants, and by limiting the price paid to the cost of construction or the cost of replacement. These attempts have failed, but they will no doubt be renewed, and may result in some change in the law.

Superficially, the law may seem too favorable to the existing companies. Why should they be permitted to "unload" their investments on the public; and why should they be paid more than it would cost to replace their plants? The answer to these questions is not simple, but it is to many minds conclusive. In the first place, until within a short time, few supposed that municipal governments were competent to carry on business. Certain matters were necessarily in their charge, but it was not supposed that they would go outside of their routine; nor was their management generally so good as to make it seem desirable to enlarge their responsibilities. Under these circumstances the lighting companies were formed; and they would certainly not have been formed had the Government been regarded as a possible competitor. When business is carried on by any government, it can be carried on at a loss, the deficiency being made up by taxation. But private persons cannot carry on business in this way; if they cannot make a profit, they must stop. A governing body can thus crush competition, and it is the aim of those who believe in municipal ownership to establish municipal monopoly. But to ruin those who had undertaken to furnish light when they could not have expected the Government to compete in the business, seems highly unjust. The grant of rights in the streets and other privileges estops the Government from destroying these rights. The obligation of contracts is practically impaired, and equity would enjoin such a proceeding by a private party. The requirement that the municipality shall buy existing plants is merely a requirement that it shall not destroy their value without compensation.

For another reason this condition is proper. Light can be furnished more economically, as a rule, where only one concern is engaged in the business. The history of competing gas companies is well known. Their competition is illusory; and the community finally has to pay the cost of several plants, instead of one. Either a municipal plant would ruin an existing private plant, or both plants would be paid for by the public. The Legislature wisely prevents this result. The assertion that only the cost of production, or of reproduction, should be allowed as compensation, is

altogether inadmissible. Such a rule might be applied to companies formed hereafter, but it would be highly unjust to existing concerns. The element of good will is, in a growing community, very valuable. A plant is constructed with an eye to the future. It must be made large enough to more than supply the present demand, or it will have to be reconstructed at once. Capitalists discount future dividends. They will carry on an industry at a loss for some time if they are convinced that it will be eventually profitable. The dividends that they forego now they expect to obtain hereafter. Some allowance, however, should be made by investors for the cheapening of production; and the fact that a property has cost a certain sum does not prove that it is worth it, even when taken for public uses. Appraisal under the direction of the court is probably the fairest method of ascertaining value; and if such proceedings cannot be carried on without corruption, municipal ownership will certainly not be exempt from it. We doubt if the Massachusetts statute can be improved, even if it renders municipal ownership unattractive. As to the extent of the desire for it, we cannot regard that as indicated by the size of the petitions in its favor that have been presented.

CHAMBERLAIN AND THE PREMIERS.

When Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Premiers assembled on Monday week, it was apparently a case of either side desiring the other to take the initiative. "Tirez les premiers, Messieurs," said Mr. Chamberlain, with true Fontenoy gallantry. But the others, not to be outdone, asked him what *he* had to propose. According to the dispatches, he had very little to suggest except "problems." But no empire that we know of—or republic, either—has to go hunting problems. Solutions are what we are all short of; and it seems to be agreed that Mr. Chamberlain was, for him, singularly halting and almost tongue-tied in the whole matter of preferential trade with the colonies.

The reason why he may have felt a certain embarrassment in speaking on this subject, is not far to seek. He was meeting with the colonists only a few days after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in the House of Commons, given the finishing blow to the whole scheme. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was understood to have been outvoted on the grain duties, and the inference was that they were imposed as a peculiarly Chamberlainish plan for striking a bargain with the colonies. Indeed, Sir Michael himself had used language that looked that way. He had spoken vaguely of his willingness to make "a sacrifice" in order to promote trade with the colonies. But just when the talk was most confident about preferential tariffs within

the empire, the Chancellor, who was expected to bless the project, rose to curse it. When charged, on June 18, with holding the same views as Prime Minister Seddon of New Zealand, he broke in, "I entirely repudiate that"; and later on said that the rumor of the Government's intention to lay discriminating taxes on imports was "an extraordinary delusion," and that "it is not our policy to endeavor to encourage trade with our colonies by initiating a tariff war with our largest customers." If, said Sir Michael with unfeeling sarcasm, the other colonies wanted to imitate Canada and give British goods a preferential tariff without any *quid pro quo*, he was not the man to say them nay; but as for the notion that England thought of changing the principles upon which her fiscal system was based, "I entirely disavow," he said, "any idea of that kind."

Mr. Chamberlain must have considered this excessively rude, coming as it did on the heels of his own speech at Birmingham. In that he had sneered at "adherence to old and antiquated methods" of building up international trade, and said, alluding directly to the grain duties, and the chance they gave to favor colonial trade at the expense of that of other countries:

"If by adherence to economic pedantry, to old shibboleths, we are to lose those opportunities of closer union which are offered us by our colonies, if we are to put aside occasions now within our grasp, if we do not take every chance in our power to keep British trade in British hands, I am certain that we shall deserve the disasters which will infallibly come upon us."

After this, it must have been disheartening enough to have an economic pedant turn up in the person of Mr. Chamberlain's own Chancellor of the Exchequer, to damn his scheme out of hand.

It is an old dream of Mr. Chamberlain's, however, and he will doubtless continue to strive for its fulfilment with all the varied resources at his command. As long ago as 1896 he was holding out to the colonies the bait of an exclusive production of the "articles of enormous consumption" in England. In return, there was to be a removal by the colonies of "protective duties upon any product of British labor." Naturally, the first part of the programme has seemed fascinating to the colonies. One of the mottoes among the Canadian decorations designed for the coronation was, "Canada, the Granary of the Empire." Premier Seddon had no sooner landed in England than he began to talk about "a self-sustaining empire," in which the colonies should supply "all the food-stuffs." But it is obvious that the proposal has not been able to endure discussion. The "old shibboleths" of political economy, which so excite Mr. Chamberlain's disgust, are simply an embodiment of the wisdom garnered by long experience in international trade; and it is the voice of the experienced English ship-owner, the practical English

manufacturer, and the English exporter that has made itself heard, and that has prevailed against the gaudy project on which Mr. Chamberlain has set his heart, and upon which he has almost staked his political fortunes. Sir Robert Giffen has buried it under an avalanche of fact and argument; and the biographer of Cobden, Mr. John Morley, has attacked it in and out of Parliament with all of Cobden's earnestness and logic and with more than Cobden's eloquence. One of Mr. Morley's happiest strokes was when, in picturing the certain decay of English trade as a result of even a disguised protection, he said, in clever allusion to Prime Minister Seddon:

"You well know Macaulay's famous picture of the New Zealander—the traveller from New Zealand—standing in a vast solitude, and from the broken arches of London Bridge sketching the ruins of St. Paul's. What a pang would go through the heart of that New Zealander, when the time comes, if he thought that this mournful and dismal solitude, this breakdown of a great city, had been due to a policy adopted in consequence of the masterful blandishments of a New Zealander."

In two words, the argument against the fair-seeming proposal of preferential trade is that, to "prefer" the colonies is, in the act, to discriminate against other nations; that the trade of the latter is worth more than that of the former could possibly be; and that to tax, directly or indirectly, food and raw materials is to disable English manufacturers from competing in a world-market where they already experience severe competition. These truths appear to be so firmly fixed in the minds of leading Englishmen, and of the majority of the Cabinet itself, that we are likely to hear little more of the trumpeted scheme of an all-British tariff and an Imperial trade. The Premiers at the Conference can exchange only helpless platitudes on this subject, and will devote their time and strength to projects of intercolonial communications and Imperial defence. Even as to those, the prospect is that the proceedings will be largely Platonic.

MR. BRYCE ON THE RELATION BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS.

OXFORD, June 20, 1902.

"The tremendous problem presented by the Southern States of America, and the likelihood that similar problems will have to be solved elsewhere—as, for instance, in South Africa and the Philippine Isles—bid us ask, What should be the duty and the policy of a dominant race where it cannot fuse with a Backward race?"

These words are taken from Mr. Bryce's Romanes Lecture on "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind." To suggest an answer to this "tremendous problem" is, if not exactly the aim, yet certainly the effect, of the last and to my mind the most important of Mr. Bryce's utterances.

Nothing he has written or spoken is, whether one agrees with his views or not, likely to produce so much effect as the address delivered at Oxford on the 7th of

June. Of its importance and its weightiness it is hardly possible to speak in terms that are too strong. The address raises in a clear form the most perplexing question of the time. It happily raises this question (which may in no short time divide political parties in England) before the treatment of backward races has been forced upon the active attention of the English public and become involved in all the confusion of partisanship; and Mr. Bryce speaks with authority. He is in some sense an expert witness and an expert free from bias. He has devoted life-long attention to political and social inquiries. He has collected an infinity of knowledge from the storehouse of history. He possesses an unrivalled acquaintance with the actual conditions, as far as they can become known to a traveller, of different and distant countries. When he speaks of India, of the Mohammedan world, of Russia, of the Southern States of America, or of Mexico, he speaks of lands which he has seen and with the inhabitants whereof he is intimate. He is, further, nothing of a bookworm. To the knowledge gained from books, from thought, and from travel he adds the equally valuable knowledge of mankind gained from participation in the public life of England. When we add to all this that, throughout the United States, every word he prints is sure to be read by thousands of readers who will receive his teaching with a strong and perfectly legitimate prejudice in favor of the teacher, one may feel perfectly certain that his views with regard to the relation between blacks and whites will not fall to the ground without effect.

Mr. Bryce's policy, if I may use the term, rests on three principles which the whole of his lecture more or less supports and illustrates. First: The sentiment or prejudice of the whites against the intermixture of blood (or intermarriage) between whites and blacks is, at any rate where the whites belong to the Anglo-Saxon race, so strong that it cannot and perhaps ought not to be overcome. He apparently assumes it to be certain that, neither in the Southern States of America nor in South Africa, will the difficulty of adjusting the relation between whites and negroes ever be removed by fusion. This is a state of things which statesmen must accept as a fact, and recognize it, therefore, in their political arrangements.

Secondly. Fusion or intermarriage between races so widely different as are blacks and whites produces, on the whole, unsatisfactory results; to this statement there are, as Mr. Bryce is careful to insist, occasional and striking exceptions. Still, policy must be built on what is usual, not upon what is exceptional, in the course of things; and—what is of supreme importance—the unsatisfactory result produced by the mixture of whites and negroes, or of whites and Hindus, or of the American aborigines and negroes, goes a good way to supply a moral justification for the condemnation, by Anglo-Saxon sentiment, of intermarriage between whites and blacks. For “the matter ought to be regarded from the side neither of white nor of black, but of the future of mankind at large”; and for the future of mankind it is absolutely vital that “some races should be maintained at the highest level of efficiency, because the work they can do for thought, and art, and letters, for

scientific discovery, and for raising the standard of conduct, will determine the general progress of humanity.” If, therefore, we can suppose the blood of the races which are now most advanced to be diluted, and, so to speak, deteriorated by the blood of those of the most backward, there might be an irreparable loss to the world at large.

Thirdly. Sound policy must be based on the recognition of the unconquerable and probably justifiable aversion entertained by men of English race to the fusion by intermarriage of the white and the black races, combined with the recognition of the equal claim to justice of every man, whatever his race or color. This principle would, if I understand Mr. Bryce rightly, lead to the following consequences. Intermarriage between whites and blacks would be discouraged, if not absolutely forbidden. The line of conduct proposed “dissuades any attempt to mix races so diverse as are the white Europeans and the negroes. The wisest men among the colored people of the Southern States of America do not desire the intermarriage of their race with the whites. They prefer to develop it as a separate people on its own lines, though, of course, by the help of the whites. . . . [The negro race] will cultivate self-respect better by standing on its own feet than by seeking blood alliances with whites, who would usually be of the meaner sort.”

The negro race would, however, acquire complete legal—which is a different thing from political—equality.

“On the legal side of this question one thing is clear: the Backward race ought to receive all such private civil rights as it can use for its own benefit. It ought to have as full protection in person and property, as complete an access to all professions and occupations, as the more advanced race enjoys.”

Political equality, in the democratic sense of the term, should hardly be aimed at; but, “as regards political rights, race and blood should not be made the ground of discrimination. Where the bulk of the colored race are obviously unfit for political power, a qualification based on property and education might be established which should permit the upper section of the race to enjoy the suffrage. Such a qualification would doubtless exclude some of the poorest and most ignorant whites, and might on that ground be resisted. But it is better to face this difficulty than to wound and alienate the whole of the colored race by putting them without the pale of civic functions and duties.”

Lastly, social relations must be left mainly subject to the control of public opinion:

“As regards social relations, law can do but little save in the way of expressing the view that the State takes of how its members should behave to one another. Good feeling and good manners cannot be imposed by statute. The best hope lies in the slow growth of a better sentiment.”

Here, then, we have Mr. Bryce's policy. Its essential elements are the substitution of friendly separation for any attempt at fusion between the two races; the insuring to the blacks, not only in name, but in fact, of every private civil right which can be claimed by any citizen; the placing of political rights on a basis which, while it makes it possible for a few negroes of exceptional ability to take part in public life, secures, probably for years to come, the political predominance of the white race; and, lastly, the gradual amelioration of social relations between the advanced

race and the backward race by the slow growth of better public feeling and opinion.

The “policy of isolation” has much to recommend it. It depends, however, for its moral justification on the assumption that “the mixture of races very dissimilar, and especially of European whites with blacks, tends rather to lower than to improve the resultant stock.” But the validity of this assumption is disputed by some competent judges, and is not easy to reconcile with some of the phenomena—such, for example, as the genius occasionally displayed by men of mixed race, or the eminence attained in Mexico by leaders who have certainly in their veins a strain of Indian blood. Indeed, our author himself writes: “The subject of race mixture is one of extreme interest, to which, as far as I know, comparatively few data for positive conclusions exist”; and, if this be so, the policy of isolation or separation is at best an experiment that depends for its success on the soundness of a theory which itself rests upon a foundation of dubious strength. But this general objection must not be pressed too far. Appearances suggest the conclusion that race-mixture may generally produce evil, and the conviction of whites that intermarriage between themselves and persons of color can hardly be tolerated, is itself a fact of primary importance, which may establish in the eyes of statesmen the prudence of discouraging the fusion of widely differing races. Another general remark is, that Mr. Bryce's language as to “social relations” is extremely vague. “Good feeling and good manners cannot be imposed by statute”; but then, law ought to do “something in the way of expressing the view the State takes of how its members should behave to one another.” The difficulty lies in reconciling these two aspects of law. No statute can force the whites of a Southern State to enter into intimate relations with their colored neighbors; but is the law to enact that whites and blacks shall not ride in the same carriage, or to tolerate the refusal of an innkeeper to supply a room to a gentleman of color? My object is not to answer these questions, but only to show that they and like inquiries need answering. The line between social and legal equality is in truth hard to draw. The formal recognition of equal legal rights when the real enjoyment thereof is denied, increases instead of lessening the irritation of the race which suffers from its denial.

Dismissing, however, altogether the more general criticisms on the policy of isolation, we shall find that it is open to at least four specific objections.

First. It permanently stereotypes the rigid division of the members of one community into two absolutely separate bodies. Is this sort of separation really compatible with the existence of a State, the members of which all possess equal legal rights, and all of whom, on certain requirements as to education and property being fulfilled, take their share in political life? It is difficult to answer this inquiry in the affirmative. The answer becomes the more perplexing when we note that the arrangements which are intended to insure the political predominance of the more advanced race, will, as time goes on, cease to be efficacious. Almost all blacks will, if fairly treated, come ultimately to possess the amount of education which may be re-

quired as a condition for exercising electoral rights; and in any country which is prosperous, the colored population who enjoy the benefit of equal laws and of fair treatment, will, in no long time, become possessed of a good deal of property. It is vain to suppose that either the educational test or the property qualification, if fairly worked, will permanently, in a modern State, at once admit the great body of the whites to political power and exclude from it the great body of the blacks. The political arrangements proposed by Mr. Bryce in regard to the suffrage are in themselves wise; they may produce good effects for a time. This is no small matter, for the lapse of time may educate the negroes and mitigate the racial prejudices of the whites. But constitutional devices which are ingenious and beneficial are, after all, merely devices for tiding over a period of transition.

Secondly: Social separation, combined with fair treatment of the negroes, will, it is of course hoped, as time goes on, mitigate or remove racial hostility. Every one interested in the progress of humanity must wish that this hope may turn out well founded. Unfortunately, the very circumstances which recommend the separation of two races who live together and are intended to be contented citizens of a common country, forbid the expectation that the policy of isolation will produce beneficial effects. Is it in accordance with human nature that a dominant class who hate the idea of intermixture of any kind with a race whom they hold to be their inferiors, will really and fairly allow to this race full legal equality? Grant that the blacks will obtain "full protection in person and property," though this is conceding a good deal; does any one really suppose that, under the system of isolation, they will obtain "as complete access to all professions and occupations, as wide a power of entering into contracts, as ready an access to the courts, as the more advanced race enjoys"? Neither knowledge of human nature nor a fair reading of history warrants any confidence in the answer which a philanthropist would wish to give to these inquiries. Rigid separation fosters that very pride of race and that contempt for men who, on the ground of color, are counted as inferiors, which statesmanship and humanity alike wish to remove; the considerations which justify the policy of separation will prevent the exercise of that perfect justice which alone is likely to make that policy beneficial.

Thirdly. The rigid separation between whites and blacks is hard to reconcile, not so much with the dogmas as with the essential character of Christianity. There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all and in all. These words embody the essence of Christian faith; can they by any possibility be made consistent with customs, more rigid than law, forbidding men of different color to join together in the worship of the same God? In the long run, either the doctrine of brotherhood preached by the Church must break down the social separation maintained by the State, or the moral and intellectual inequality embodied in the customs of the State must reduce the sentiment of Christian brotherhood to an in-

effective and, from its acknowledged unreality, hurtful dogma. This remark does not, be it noted, necessarily apply to the prohibition of intermarriage. If the conviction should ever become firmly established, among blacks no less than among whites, that fusion between the two races is an evil to each, moral sentiment will, as in other cases, rightly conform to well-established physical facts. But, though the ultimate prevalence of such a conviction is possible, it is by no means certain, and the possibility depends upon the complete establishment of a principle the truth whereof is still a matter of debate.

Fourthly. The policy of isolation is inconsistent with the fundamental assumption of democracy. The dogma of human equality in the only sense in which it can be entertained at all by any reasonable man, is the cornerstone of democratic government. It does not, of course, mean that all men are equal, either morally or intellectually: for the immense differences between one man and another, in both physical and intellectual power, are patent to any one who is not the slave to some mere formula. Nor is it possible for any thoughtful person to believe, as did thinkers of great power during the eighteenth century, that these differences are due wholly to circumstances which can be got rid of by wiser laws or by better institutions. But, though no modern democrat who has thought seriously on social and political questions can, at the present day, believe in the "equality of mankind" in the strict sense of that term, every supporter of democratic institutions does believe and feel that, from a political point of view, the characteristics which men have in common are of far more importance than the features, marked though they may be, in which they differ from one another. Democracy depends upon the importance attached to the similarities, as surely as aristocracy depends upon the importance attached to the differences, of human nature; and wherever democratic institutions flourish, the dogma of equality, rationally understood, roughly corresponds with the actual state of society. But the strict separation in any community of whites from blacks emphasizes in the strongest manner the vital importance of the difference of color. It goes in reality further than this, and declares that, in the eye of the State, one class of citizens does not stand on an equality with another class of citizens. A system of caste, whatever its merits, is inconsistent with the democratic spirit, and it passes belief that caste and democracy can in reality coexist.

Nor can this assertion be disposed of by pointing to the success of the Anglo-Indian administrative system, under which different races, while standing apart from one another, have enjoyed equal civil rights. The success of English administration is in no way due to democracy. British India is not governed on democratic principles; government for the people is a very different thing from government by the people. The government of England, it is true, has become more or less democratic, but the popular government of England is Imperial government as regards India; and the credit fairly due to English democracy is that, while popular opinion has vaguely desired that India should be governed with justice, popular

wisdom or diffidence or indifference has confided the administration of British India to experts. The whole relation, moreover, of Englishmen to the natives of India is modified by the physical inability of Europeans to settle there. The country is governed by Englishmen, but it is inhabited by native races.

To summarize the objections which Mr. Bryce's proposals excite in the mind of a friendly critic is a very different thing from asserting that these objections are decisive. The general drift of the policy he recommends strikes me, in so far as I can venture to have an opinion on the subject, as preëminently wise, if it be looked upon as a scheme for meeting fairly the immediate difficulties of the moment. What criticism suggests is that, if one may assume the soundness of the principles on which his suggestions are based, they sketch out a prudent policy of transition, but do not afford anything like a final solution of the negro problem.

A. V. DICEY.

THE LATE LORD ACTON.

LONDON, June 23, 1902.

In Lord Acton, who has just died (June 19), at Tegern See in Bavaria, Europe has lost one of its most learned men, and England one of its most unique literary figures. He belonged to an old Roman Catholic family of Shropshire, a branch of which had gone to southern Italy, where his grandfather, Gen. Acton, had been chief minister of the King of Naples in the great war, during the period when the Bourbon dynasty maintained itself in Sicily, by the help of the British fleet, while all Italy lay under the heel of Napoleon. His father, Sir Ferdinand Acton, married a German lady, heiress of the ancient and famous house of Dalberg, one of the great families of the middle Rhineland; so John Emmerich Dalberg Acton was born half a German, and connected by blood with the highest aristocracy of Germany. He was educated at Oscott, one of the two chief Roman Catholic colleges of England, under Dr. Wiseman, afterwards Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal; but the most powerful influence in the development of his mind and his principles was that of Dr. von Döllinger, with whom he lived and studied for some years at Munich. He sat for a short time in the House of Commons, as member first for Carlisle (1859), and was afterwards elected for Bridgnorth (1865), but lost his seat (which he had gained by one vote only) on a scrutiny. In those days it was no easy matter for a Roman Catholic to secure an English seat; so in 1869 Mr. Gladstone had him created a peer. Though he took no prominent part in Parliamentary life, in either house, he continued to be all his life keenly interested in politics, and was for many years one of Mr. Gladstone's most trusted confidential advisers. It was, indeed, believed that on at least one occasion Mr. Gladstone wished to place him in an important office; but political exigencies made this impossible, and the only public post he ever held was that of Lord in Waiting in the Ministry of 1892. In this capacity he was brought into frequent contact with Queen Victoria, who felt the warmest respect and admiration for him. He was one of the very few persons round her who knew the courts of Continental Europe, and could discuss with her from direct

knowledge the men who figured in those courts.

Unlike most English Roman Catholics, he was a strong Liberal—a Liberal of that orthodox type which prevailed from 1852 till 1885. He was also a convinced Home-Ruler, and had, indeed, adopted the principle of Home Rule for Ireland before Mr. Gladstone himself adopted it. His liberalism was based on the love of freedom for its own sake, and on the belief that freedom is the best foundation for the stability of a constitution and the happiness of a people. This was, he used to say, one of the great lessons which he had learnt from history. He applied it in ecclesiastical as well as in political affairs. At the time of the Vatican Council of 1870, he was, though a layman, prominent among those who constituted the opposition maintained by the Liberal section of the Roman Catholic Church to the affirmation of the dogma of papal infallibility. His wonderfully full and accurate knowledge of ecclesiastical history was placed at the disposal of the prelates, such as Archbishop Dupanloup, Bishop Strossmayer, and Archbishop Conolly (of Halifax, N. S.), who combated the Ultramontane party in the animated and protracted debates which illumined that Oecumenical Council. One, at least, of the treatises and many of the letters in the press which the Council called forth, were from his pen, and he was recognized by the Ultramontanes, and in particular by Archbishop Manning, as being, along with Dollinger, their most formidable opponent. As every one knows, the Infallibilists triumphed, and the schism which led to the formation of the Old Catholic Church in Germany and Switzerland, was the result. Dollinger was excommunicated; but against Lord Acton, since he was a layman, no action was taken, and he remained all his life a member of the Roman communion, while adhering to the views he had advocated in 1870.

With this close hold upon practical life and this constant interest in the politics of the world, especially of England and the United States, no one could be less like that cloistered student who is commonly taken as the typical man of learning. But Lord Acton was a miracle of learning. Of the sciences of Nature and their practical applications in the arts he had indeed no more knowledge than any cultivated man of the world is expected to possess. But of all the so-called "human subjects" his mastery was unequalled. Learning was the business of his life. He was gifted with a singularly tenacious memory. His industry was untiring. Wherever he was—in London, at Cannes in winter, at Tegern See in summer, at Windsor or Osborne with the Queen; latterly, till his health failed, at Cambridge during the University terms—he never worked less than eight hours a day. Yet, even after making every allowance for his memory and his industry, his friends stood amazed at the range and exactness of his knowledge. It was as various as it was profound. It covered the whole field of history, both civil and ecclesiastical, and was especially full and minute as respects the Renaissance and Reformation periods and the centuries thence down to our own. It included not only the older theology, but modern Biblical criticism. It included metaphysics; and not only metaphysics in the more special sense, but the abstract side of economics and that philosophy of Law on which the Germans set so much

store. Most of the prominent figures who have led the march of inquiry in these subjects, men like Ranke and Fustel de Coulanges in history, Wilhelm Roscher in economic science, Adolf Harnack in theology, were his personal friends, and he could meet them as an equal on their own ground. On one occasion he was a guest at a small party in London where the late Bishop Creighton, who was then writing his History of the Popes, and the late Prof. Robertson Smith, the first Hebrew and Arabic scholar in Britain, had been invited to meet him. The conversation turned first upon the times of Pope Leo the Tenth, and then upon recent controversies regarding the dates of the books of the Old Testament, and it soon appeared that Lord Acton knew as much about the former as Dr. Creighton, and as much about the latter as Robertson Smith. The Constitutional history of the United States is a topic far removed from those philosophical and ecclesiastical or theological lines of inquiry to which most of his time had been given; yet he knew it perhaps more thoroughly than any other living European, and he continued to read all the books of importance dealing with it which from time to time were published. So, indeed, he kept abreast of nearly all the literature of possible utility bearing on history and political theory that appeared in Europe or America, reading much which his less diligent or less eager friends thought scarcely worthy of his perusal. And it need hardly be said that his friends found him an invaluable guide to the literature of any subject. In the sphere of history more especially, one might safely assume that a book which he did not know was not worth knowing, while he was often able to indicate, as being the right book to consult, some work of which the friend who consulted him, albeit not unversed in the subject, had never heard. He had at one time four libraries—the largest at his family seat, Aldenham in Shropshire, others at Tegern See, at Cannes, and in London; and he could usually tell in which of these the particular book he named was to be found. Unlike most men who value their libraries, he was fond of lending books, and would sometimes put a friend to shame by asking some weeks afterwards what the latter thought of the volumes he had almost forced on the borrower, and which the borrower had not found time to read.

Vast as his stores of knowledge were, they were known only to the few who were intimate with him. It was not merely that he, as Tennyson said of Edmund Lushington, "bore all that weight of learning lightly, like a flower." No one could have known in general society that he had any weight of learning to bear. He seemed to be merely a highly cultivated and agreeable man of the world, interested in letters and in politics, but quite as willing (perhaps more willing) to listen as to talk. In a large company he seldom put forth the fulness of his powers; it was in familiar talk with persons whose tastes resembled his own that the extraordinary finesse and polish of his mind revealed themselves. His critical taste was not only delicate, but exacting; his appreciations leaned to the side of severity. No one applied a more stringent moral standard to the conduct of men in public affairs. He insisted upon this, in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, as the

historian's first duty. But in estimating the value of literary work he was also hard to satisfy. His ideal, both as respected thoroughness in substance and finish in form, was unusually high, and he noted every failure to reach it. No one appreciated merit more cordially. No one spoke with warmer admiration of such distinguished historians and theologians as those just named. But the extreme precision of his thinking and the fastidiousness of his taste gave a tinge of austerity to his judgment. His opinions were peculiarly instructive and illuminative to Englishmen, because he was only half an Englishman, as well in blood as in his training and mental habits. He viewed our insular literature and politics with the detachment not only of a Roman Catholic among Protestants, of a pupil of Dollinger and Roscher among Oxford and Cambridge men, but also of a citizen of the world, whose mastery of history and philosophy had given him an unusually wide outlook over mankind at large.

The passion for acquiring knowledge which his German education had fostered ended by becoming a snare to him, because it checked his productive powers. It absorbed so much of his time that little was left for literary composition. It made him think that he could not write on a subject till he had read everything, or nearly everything, that others had written about it. It developed the habit of making extracts from the books he read—a habit which took the form of accumulating small slips of paper on which these quotations were written in his exquisitely neat and regular hand, the slips being arranged in cardboard boxes according to their subjects. He had many hundreds of these boxes; and though much of their contents must no doubt be valuable, the time spent in copying and arranging the essence of the books whence they came, would have been better spent in giving to the world the ideas which they had helped to evoke in his own mind. When one read some article he had written, garnished and perhaps overloaded with citations, one often felt that his own part was better, both in substance and in form, than the passages which he had culled from his predecessors. One of the secrets of historical composition is to know what to neglect, since in our time it has become impossible to exhaust the literature of most subjects, and, as respects modern times, to exhaust even the original authorities. Lord Acton was unwilling to neglect anything; and his passion for completeness drew him into a policy fit only for one who could expect to live three lives of mortal men.

It was this somewhat overstrained conscientiousness, coupled with the almost impossibly high ideal of finish and form which he set before himself, that made him less and less disposed to literary production. No man of first-rate powers has in our time left so little by which posterity may judge those powers. In his early life, when for a time he edited the *Home and Foreign Review*, he wrote pretty frequently; and even between 1868 and 1890 he contributed to the press some few historical essays and a number of anonymous letters. But the aversion to creation seemed to grow on him. About 1890 he so far yielded to the urgency of a few friends as to promise to reissue a number of his essays in a volume, but, after he had spent several years in

rewriting and polishing these essays, he abandoned the scheme altogether. In 1882 he had already drawn out a plan for a comprehensive history of Liberty; and those who were privileged to hear him talk of the way in which he meant to treat that splendid theme, know what it might have become in his hands. But this plan also he dropped, because the more he read with a view to undertaking it the more he wished to read, and the larger did the enterprise seem to loom up before him. With him, as with so many men who cherish high ideals, the Better proved to be the enemy of the Good.

His literary style suffered in his later days from the copiousness of the interspersed citations and from the overfulness and subtlety of the thought, which occasionally led to obscurity. But when he handled a topic in which learning was not required, his style was singularly clear, pointed, and incisive. Some years ago he wrote in one of our monthly magazines a short article upon the late Lord Houghton (Mr. Monckton Milnes), which showed how admirable a master he was of polished diction and penetrating analysis, and made one wish that he had more frequently consented to dash off work in a quick way.

To the work of a university professor he came too late to acquire the art of fluent and forcible oral discourse, nor was the character of his mind, with its striving after a flawless exactitude of statement, altogether suited for the function of presenting broad summaries of facts to a youthful audience. His predecessor in the Cambridge chair of history, Sir John Seeley, with far less knowledge, far less subtlety, and far less originality, had in larger measure the gift of oral exposition. But the influence of Lord Acton's character and method, the impression produced by the amplitude of his views, by the range of his learning, by the liberality of his spirit and his unflinching devotion to truth and to truth alone, was very great and very fruitful in the university. His lectures (read from MS.) were models, in their way, of narrative informed by fulness of thought.

To most men he seemed reserved as well as detached. He avoided publicity and popularity with the tranquil dignity of one for whom the world of knowledge and speculation was more than sufficient. But he was a most loyal friend, affectionate to his intimates, gracious in his manners, blameless in all the relations of life. Comparatively few of his countrymen knew his name, and those who did probably knew him best as the confidant of Mr. Gladstone and as the most remarkable instance of a sincere and pious Roman Catholic who was equally a Liberal in politics and in theology. But those who had been admitted to his friendship recognized him as one of the finest intelligences of his generation—an unsurpassed, and indeed a scarcely rivalled, master of every subject which he touched.

Correspondence.

THE EXCUSE FOR DEWEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I suggest that the statement in your issue of the 3d inst., in regard to "the spurious character of the so-called

battle of Manila," is hardly fair to Admiral Dewey and the commanders of the American land forces? In a certain sense the battle was a sham, but this was not their fault. By the Spanish military law, as I understand, a commander who surrenders a post without a fight, no matter how hopeless it may be, is punished with death. To show that this rule is not a dead letter, I may state that I was informed by Capt. C. H. Davis, U. S. N., who was in command of the naval force which took Ponce, that, although the Spanish troops there were very few, and utterly powerless to protect the town against bombardment, their commander was with great difficulty induced by the civil authorities to withdraw, in consequence of Capt. Davis's threat to bombard unless the town were immediately surrendered. Although a refusal to withdraw the troops would only have led to needless slaughter and destruction of property, the Spanish commander was condemned to death, and it was only in consequence of a very strong influence in his behalf, backed by Capt. Davis's positive statement that he had intended to fulfil his threat, that the sentence was commuted to imprisonment—for life, I think.

Of course, from a humanitarian standpoint, the Spanish Governor-General should have surrendered without insisting on the formality of an attack, and should have taken his death punishment like a Christian, instead of sacrificing other men's lives to save his own; but then, Spaniards are rarely humanitarians. The American officers were not, however, responsible for the Spaniard's lack of humanity. He would not surrender the town without an attack, although he would agree to do so after the attack had reached a certain point. The time had come to take Manila, and, if it was to be taken, an attack in force was inevitable. Had the cable been working, the American officers could have been informed of the protocol, in which case there would have been no attack; but it was their duty to go ahead until they received orders to the contrary, and the Spanish Governor-General left them no choice.

Yours truly, CHARLES C. BINNEY.

PHILADELPHIA, July 5, 1902.

OXFORD AND THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As your excellent article in No. 1928 has done me the honor to allude to my anticipations (in the May *Fortnightly*) of the effects of the Rhodes foundation in America, a few words of comment may perhaps be permitted me. In the first place, I hardly "advocated" the giving of Rhodes scholarships to graduates. I merely said that if Americans were consulted, they probably would be so given; if they are not consulted, any scheme that is adopted will probably prove a failure. Again, admitting that their age would differentiate the Rhodes scholars from the ordinary undergraduates, it hardly seems to follow that they would have to form "a separate colony" in any invidious sense. The social life of Oxford is varied enough to afford congenial society to every taste.

On the other hand, your article seems entirely right as to the relations of the colleges towards the Rhodes scholars.

They will be judged on their individual merits as men, and those colleges which are most attractive will have the first choice and will admit those whom they want. No college will want too many of them, and all colleges will want some. Thus the problem of distribution will solve itself, without any official regulation or vain attempt to dictate to the perfectly independent authorities of the colleges.

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,
JUNE 27, 1902.

THE HARVARD COMMENCEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: This year's commencement at Harvard was a day to cause grief to all her sons who have dear at heart her fair fame and her honorable record as a seat of learning. Snobbery, commonplace, and mutual and self-admiration reigned supreme. The ticket which every graduate was rightly required to carry and show was dishonored by policemen at various points where there could be no question of the safety of the President of the United States; but he was somewhere near, as if he were the Sultan or great Caesar. Can anything surpass the bad taste of President Eliot's words describing Charles Proteus Steinmetz as "the foremost expert in applied electricity of this country, and therefore of the world"? After dinner (and such a dinner!), and after President Eliot had compared 1892 (why not 1872?) with 1902, to the tune of "Alone I done it," the crowded tables resolved themselves into a political meeting. President Roosevelt chose that time and place to make an *apologiam pro vitâ suâ*. He can hardly be so simple as to suppose that his assertion that Wood and Root are good men and have done right, convinced a single person who considers Wood to have made wrongful use of money, and Root to have kept back facts which the whole country ought to have known. Fortunately, there were redeeming features—Governor Crane's few simple words, and the reception of Roosevelt's tribute to the junior Senator from Massachusetts. And most delightful was it that, at the singing of "Fair Harvard" in front of Holworthy, nearly every man in range took off his hat. This went far, but could not wholly atone for the mistakes of the day, in the view of a middle-aged alumnus.

A. L. T.

BOSTON, July 4, 1902.

Notes.

Henry Holt & Co. announce the second volume of Prof. J. P. Gordy's 'Political Parties in the United States'; a translation, by Dr. William Fairley, of Seignobos's 'History of the Roman People'; and a 'Synopsis of Animal Classification,' by Prof. Wilder of Smith College.

'The Unspeakable Scot,' by T. W. H. Crossland, is in the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

It is with a pleasant surprise that we receive from Aiken, S. C., a very tasteful prospectus of the Palmetto Press (W. L. Washburn), announcing a reproduction, in two limited editions, of Urian Oakes's 'An Elegie upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard,' following the form and spelling of the copy of the first edition

in the Library of Brown University. Mr. Shepard was "Late Teacher of the Church at Charlstown in New England," and his death occurred in 1649. Oakes died fourth president of Harvard College in 1681.

'Why My Photographs Are Bad,' by Charles M. Taylor, jr., a practical guide to the amateur, is to be published by George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia.

Among forthcoming publications of the Oxford University Press we select for mention 'The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible,' by the Rev. J. G. Carleton; and 'Une Lignée de Poètes,' by Charles Bonnier.

Kingsley's 'Westward Ho!' in two volumes, Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus,' and a special translation of Boethius, 'The Consolation of Philosophy'—the first into English having been King Alfred's about 890—are among the fresher outputs of the Dent-Macmillan Temple Classics. Mr. W. V. Cooper, B.A., King's College, Cambridge, is the author of this latest version. Portraits, a view of the rectory and church at Eversley, and an Elzevir frontispiece representing the wheel of fortune, adorn these captivating little books.

'Jane Eyre' begins the complete edition of Charlotte Brontë's works bearing the imprint of Dodd, Mead & Co. In Dr. Robertson Nicoll's candid and excellent introduction, some scraps of evidence are offered in support of the suggestion "that in Charlotte Brontë's conception of love there are distinct traces of Harriet Martineau's forgotten novel of 'Deerbrook.'" Appended to this volume is a hitherto unpublished fragment, 'The Moores,' written during her married life, and there will be more such to come, we are told. The print is as large as this bulky work permits.

The same publisher's Thackeray proceeds with 'The Newcomes' in three volumes, with Walter Brock's editing and cleverly designed illustrations by Charles E. Brock.

Mr. William Wale's dictionary of quotations, 'What Great Men Have Said about Great Men' (London: Sonnenschein; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), has an obvious utility, but we must as little expect proportion as completeness in such a collection. There is, for example, but one "saying" for Lincoln—Walt Whitman's, in prose; yet Lowell had just been drawn upon for *Lessing*, and heads nine sayings about Longfellow, besides contributing one of three on himself. Under Emerson we might wish to find Matthew Arnold. Arnold himself has apparently not been talked about by his peers. An index of the critics and panegyrist quoted would, we think, have been worth while.

We have met with no better guide-book to the Lake District than that entitled 'The Lake Counties,' by W. G. Collingwood (E. P. Dutton & Co.). It is one of Dent's "County Guides" series, under the general editorship of Mr. G. A. B. Dewar, and meets the most fastidious requirements of type, paper, weight, etc. It is light in the hand, though nearly 400 pages in length, and has eight separate maps, besides a general map of the region in a pocket. The idea of having a set of articles by experts attached to the eight "Itineraries" is a very happy one; there are ten of these, dealing with the natural history and sport of the Lake Counties, three of them written by members of the Severn family, whose close relation to Ruskin and the life of the dales-

men is well known. The illustrations, by Cuthbert Rigby, though not as good as those of Mr. Pennell in a similar work, are pleasing enough. Mr. Collingwood is a resident of the Coniston district, and was an intimate friend of Ruskin. He writes with complete knowledge of the legends and antiquities of the dales and lakes and in an entertaining style. No tourist to the Lakes should neglect this convenient little volume.

'Nature Portraits' (Doubleday, Page & Co.) is a folio collection of pictures of birds, mammals, insects, and fish by various nature photographers, with a short accompanying text by the editor of *Country Life in America*. The illustrations, many of which have been published before, are excellent. They are largely the work of Mr. Dugmore and Mr. Carlin. One photograph, by the way, labelled "Pocket Gopher," does not appear to represent that animal. The text, which has no direct connection with the pictures, will be of some interest to teachers and parents who are considering pedagogical problems of "nature study." It challenges certain points of view which, if early impressed upon a child, affect his future relations with the world of nature. In a series of sections, it discusses the old attitude towards wild animals versus the new, as expressed in the new method of hunting with the camera and the new movement for protection; condemns the attempt to explain as distinctly useful each structure or character in an organism; defends the teacher who tries to make nature interesting to children in ways discredited by the advocates of "science for the sake of science"; urges emphasis on the large and significant values of a subject; and favors the use of the poetic and figurative in interpreting nature to children.

'Wags of the Stage,' by Joseph Whitton (Philadelphia: George H. Rigby), a model of book-making, so far as type, printing, and illustration are concerned, must have been written for personal gratification, as there is no other reasonable excuse for its production. It is mainly a collection of humorous anecdotes concerning stage-folk of greater or less eminence, but the selected stories are either too stale or too silly to be worth repeating. Moreover, the author has no special gift of comic relation, or, apparently, any general acquaintance with his subject. His book, indeed, is chiefly remarkable for the good things which are not to be found in it, although they have been common property for the last hundred years. The most interesting part of it is his account of his adventures in Nicaragua with William Wheatley; but these have nothing whatever to do with waggery, and afford no fresh information.

We have, perhaps, not devoted to Delta's 'Charades' (Cambridge, Mass.: Charles W. Sever & Co.) as assiduous a study as so profound a tome requires. The impression it has left is, that Delta deals with his charade-words as popularizers do with the secrets of natural science, and aims "to make them patent to the meanest capacity." But this may be a mere effect of superficial reviewing; for not half the book has been worked through. So, for aught we know, there may be tests here fit to measure every grade of charade sagacity. A certain neatness is observable in these problems, hardly rising to elegance. No mortal could for one moment mistake them for poetry. Yet experiment has shown that they will beguile an idle hour very well.

The important monograph of Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency on 'State Intervention in English Education' (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co.), traces the history of that question from the earliest times down to 1833, when Parliament for the first time voted money for the promotion of elementary education. The subject is dealt with mainly from the political and legal point of view, and abounds in valuable references to documentary authorities. The writer expresses his surprise that no satisfactory collection of such material had previously been made, and contends that many of the present educational troubles in England are directly due to the neglect of the historical aspect of the subject. Two notable points are particularly emphasized by the record here presented—the decadence of education under the Stuarts, from which it resulted that it was less flourishing in the beginning of the nineteenth century than at a certain period before the Reformation; and the example of progress set by the colonies to the mother country. Incidentally, Mr. de Montmorency calls attention to the curious fact that the general use of the English tongue dates from the Black Death. The terror of the plague drove out of the country the French and Norman parish priests, who were also the masters in the grammar schools. The clergy who remained were natives, and their influence introduced English into schools as the vehicle of lessons. We have noticed an erratum on p. 153, where Sir Henry "Parke," the Australian politician, should be Sir Henry Parkes. It is to be inferred from his preface that Mr. de Montmorency intends to follow up the present volume by a similar treatment of the period from 1833 to the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. If the second book is of the same quality as the first, it will be heartily welcome.

Mr. A. R. Whiteway, an English barrister, deals in a light and even flippant style with a subject of too much gravity for such handling. His 'Recent Object-Lessons in Penal Science' (E. P. Dutton & Co.) is made up largely of magazine articles, and contains little that is new to penologists, or even to those who have but a cursory acquaintance with the subject. His bibliography is very incomplete, and many of his comments are inept. The book may serve to draw attention to a subject which deeply concerns the public but interests it little. If it can do this, it will justify its existence.

Very different points of view are taken by "Veritas" in his 'German Empire of To-day' (Longmans, Green & Co.) and by Maurice Lair, in 'L'Impérialisme Allemand' (Paris: Armand Colin). The composition of the former book is somewhat peculiar. It begins with a sketch of German history up to 1871, which is necessarily too brief to be of much value, and proceeds to explain the present condition of the Empire largely by means of consular reports. A considerable body of facts and a large number of figures are thus marshalled under various titles; the impression given being that remarkable progress has been made in every direction. "Veritas," however, does not look below the surface, and his book is little more readable than most public documents. M. Lair presents the same facts, but he interprets

them, and gives others which supplement them. He is as keen in depreciation as "Veritas" is dull in laudation, and shows us the seamy side of imperialism very effectively. On the whole, we must say that those who wish to know the truth would better consult M. Lair; making some allowance for national prejudice. Nor will those who read for amusement be disappointed in his pages, for his sarcasm is clever. But he does not fail to recognize much that deserves admiration, and his tribute to German industry, enterprise, and intelligence 's unstinted.

It would be strange indeed if a French author should win the distinction of writing the best life of the late Queen of England. At present, however, M. Abel Chevalley seems to hold the field. His 'La Reine Victoria: Sa Vie, son Rôle, son Règne' (Paris: Ch. Delagrave) is certainly superior in every respect to such compilations as that to which the Duke of Argyll put his name. Its literary merit and its freedom from bias mark it off at once from the numerous biographies which have attempted a new interpretation of the political maxim that the king can do no wrong. M. Chevalley's memoir is especially valuable for its estimate of the nature and extent of Queen Victoria's influence upon state affairs, and for the light it throws upon the relation between the growth of the imperialistic spirit and the increase of the authority of the crown. Another admirable feature is its excellent character-drawing of Gladstone, Disraeli, Chamberlain, Salisbury, and the Queen herself. The criticisms of English weaknesses are at times severe, but they are nearly always well-informed, and are evidently consistent with a warm appreciation of what is admirable in English character and what is great in English statesmanship.

Charming views in plenty accompany Prof. Dr. Ludwig Neumann's 'Der Schwarzwald' in the "Land und Leute" monographs published in Leipzig by Velhagen & Klasing (New York: Lemcke & Buechner). Inhabitants as well as scenery are pictured, and history, topography, boundaries, orography, plain and elevation, are duly regarded. The frontispiece is a fine general view of Baden-Baden, which we commend to readers of Turgeneff's 'Smoke.' The index is not forgotten. An Andree map of the region concludes the liberal equipment.

The latest addition to the popular reproductions of pictorial masterpieces in the series called "Meisterbilder" of George D. W. Callway, Munich, is a portfolio containing Moritz von Schwind's "Morgensonne," Luca Signorelli's "The Damned," Rubens's cheerful companion piece of "The Descent of the Damned," Rembrandt's "Supper at Emmaus," Dürer's "Virgin Mary with the Child" in three prints brought together on one sheet; and Holbein's "Wife and Children." Two of the above, we opine, could be well spared from the "Deutsches Haus" for which the series is designed.

Even the libraries of a great city may be difficult to ferret out. Such was the experience of a committee of the New York Library Club compiling a list of libraries in this metropolis ('Libraries of Greater New York'). When found, they did not always heed the request for simple information as to history, regulations, and resources, and the derelict have thus earned a star in the catalogue, even when the par-

ticulars have been otherwise ascertained or conjectured. The volume, handsomely printed, includes a valuable index to special collections, and a manual and historical sketch of the club, with lists of members.

Internal dissensions in the Camera Club of this city have resulted in the withdrawal of the management of its organ, *Camera Notes*, with Alfred Stieglitz at their head, upon the appearance of the first (July) number of volume six. The high quality of the illustrations of this issue emphasizes the loss of such editorial direction as the periodical has heretofore had, and also the task imposed upon the future editors. The number is further distinguished by an author and subject catalogue of the club's extensive photographic library, by Juan C. Abel.

The April number of *Photo-Miniature*, the tiny publication of Tennant & Ward, No. 287 Fourth Avenue (London: Dawbarn & Ward), is given up to a Treatise on Film Photography by the editor, John A. Tennant, who has found no English predecessor in this service.

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis of Cambridge reports in the *Expository Times* an especially scandalous instance of vandalism. In a visit a few months ago to the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai she discovered that a leaf was missing from the Syriac codex of the Gospels, which she discovered there in 1892, and which has since been known as the Sinaitic Palimpsest. The manuscript has been kept carefully in a box in custody of the monks, but has been shown occasionally to travellers. Her belief is that some visitor, wishing to make an addition to a collection of Oriental curios belonging to himself or to his university, slipped the leaf between the pages of a book in the hope that it would never be missed. Mrs. Lewis gives reasons for the opinion that the theft was not the work of a scholar. She publishes in the *Expository Times* a photographic facsimile of the stolen leaf, which contains part of the story of Mary, slave of Tertullus, and, in the under-script, the text of Mark ii., 21-iii., 21. The existence of this photograph fortunately prevents any loss to scholarship, but makes the offence none the less heinous.

In American comments on Sir Walter Besant's Autobiography considerable notice has been taken of his protest against the ultra-ecclesiastical atmosphere of King's College, London. A significant mitigation of this conservatism is now reported. The College Council has decided by twenty-two votes to two "that, so soon as may be, every religious test as a qualification for office, position, or membership, in or under the Council or College, other than professorships or lectureships in the faculty of theology, shall cease to exist." This liberalizing process has been stimulated by the action of a Welsh M. P. in moving the omission, from the grant to universities and colleges, of the sum of £1,700 hitherto annually appropriated to King's College. It was recognized that, in view of the provisions of the act of 1898 which reconstituted the University of London, the college could no longer share the financial and other advantages of affiliation to that university without abandoning its tests. King's College, it will be remembered, is the institution which dropped from its professorial list, on account of heterodoxy,

Frederick Denison Maurice and, later, A. W. Momerie.

The close of the academic year at Oxford has been signalized by two graceful acts of generosity on the part of alumni of two leading American universities. The welcome given to these gifts is officially recorded in the *University Gazette* of June 17, where we read that the Hebdomadal Council "gladly accepted two busts in bronze, reproductions of the busts of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin by Houdon, presented by Jonathan Ackerman Coles, D.M., an alumnus of Columbia University," and in the next paragraph we read of an offer made to the University through the same Council by a visitor, Dr. Lee of Cornell University, "of one hundred and two New England elms to form an avenue in the Park." This proposal received the approval of the Curators of the Parks and has been gladly accepted. The bronze busts are to be placed in the Bodleian Galleries, which already contain a fine charcoal drawing of the late Captain Edward Silsbee placed beside his gift of Shelley mementoes. The other busts in the same galleries are of Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Jowett, and Sir Thomas Bodley, and among the numerous portraits is one of the Mr. Prynne who (along with Mr. Burton and Dr. Bostwick) suffered the indignity of having his ears cropped for the publication of heretical doctrines. This is the Mr. Prin whom William Dyer (see his letter in the *Nation* No. 1926) visited in the Tower of London. When, in the fulness of time and on the completion of all legal preliminaries, the American Rhodes scholars finally appear in Oxford, they will find in these recent gifts welcomed by the University an earnest of the welcome which will be extended to them.

With a too liberal anticipation of the future, our reporter of the American Library Association's meeting spoke last week of the Library of Congress adding "half a million cards" to its catalogue yearly; a slip for "fifty thousand titles."

—The predominant tone of the July *Atlantic* is seriously political. The editor opens the volume with suggestions on keeping the Fourth of July, and invites very careful attention to the foundation principles of our Government and the problems involved in our attempt to force "American institutions" upon others regardless of their own desires. And those who imagine that it is really our own kind of institutions that we are so far planting in the Philippines, may well take to themselves the remarks of H. D. Sedgwick, jr., on the facility with which Americans of the present day can cling to the patriotic phrases of the past, long after they have ceased to have any real meaning as applied to the facts of to-day. This habit of passing off spurious articles under a fair name, and the excessive commercialism of the time, are the two aspects of current American life to which Mr. Sedgwick calls special attention. James A. LeRoy, who has had two years of service with the Philippine Commission, tells at some length of the damage done among the natives by the unrestrained exhibition of race prejudice on the part of American officers and men, adding materially, by the way, to the already ample evidence of positive cruelty to the natives. Mr. LeRoy misses the point, however, when he asserts that to doubt

our doing eventual justice to the Filipinos is to call into question government by the people. Our government of them is not and never can be even government by the American people. From the nature of the place it must be largely monarchical or oligarchic in its application, and its failure to work smoothly is no test of the power of either Americans or Filipinos to govern themselves. Mr. LeRoy shows overwhelmingly that we are not doing justice there so far, and he attributes the trouble to an evil of which there is no immediate prospect that we shall free ourselves, the same race prejudice which has made it hitherto impossible to secure a working solution of the negro problem in our own land. This problem is discussed with vigor in another article, by Andrew Sledd. Mr. Sledd presents a severe indictment of the cruelty of lynching, tearing into tatters the argument that it has its origin in the outraged feelings of the better classes who too often come to its defence. The article is a good corrective to false opinions likely to be instilled into the reader by portions of Thomas Dixon's novel, 'The Leopard's Spots.'

—When the Fates crossed the early ambition of Professor Gildersleeve to be a man of letters, a possible source of almost boundless literary delight was, we will not say *quenched*, but so hedged about as to be practically inaccessible, except to the favored few. Readers of the *American Journal of Philology* will readily say of its genial editor, as Cicero said of Brutius, *Non est enim sciunctus iocus a philologia*. The steady vein of kindly humor, the flashes of wit, pervading his critical remarks published regularly under the heading of "Brief Mention," have brought more delight into the life of many a weary scholar than could be gained from the strained efforts of a whole library of professional "humorists." Even when he considers it necessary to administer severe critical punishment, the victim must often be forced to smile at the form of the blow which falls him, as when Herr Drerup's ungracious depreciation of Professor Goodwin calls forth the crushing rejoinder that Goodwin's name "had been familiar to German scholars long before Herr Engelbert Drerup was dry behind the ears." Even the narrow limits of a Latin Grammar could not squeeze all the humor out of the veteran philologist's statements. To readers of the *American Journal of Philology*, therefore, it will be a real pleasure to learn that Professor Gildersleeve begins with the present issue the publication of a series of papers entitled "Problems in Greek Syntax." His competence to deal scientifically with such problems has been so long and so often demonstrated that he can safely brave, as a younger man might not, any danger of the serious application of his own humorous maxim that "no true grammarian has any right to be readable." An unreadable essay from his pen, or a dull lecture from his lips, is unthinkable to any one who has had any opportunity to know of his work. No man who reads him will ever worry over the loss of time spent upon the study of Greek.

—'Upland Game Birds,' by Edwyn Sandys (Macmillan), the second volume of the American Sportsman's Library, is a full account of its subject as well as of some foreign species that have been introduced into this country. It includes, besides gallina-

ceous game birds, the upland plover, the golden plover, the woodcock, cranes, and the mourning dove; and it describes their feeding and breeding habits, their range, and the best methods of hunting them. Few writers have hunted so great a variety of game birds in so many parts of the country as Mr. Sandys has, and the information and advice that he gives are exhaustive and trustworthy. The chapter on the quail is excellent work, full of invaluable directions for the man who would bag this "king of game birds." It even tells him how to get the better of a shooting companion in various situations afield; and though the author hastens to condemn sharp practice and to explain that he is only warning the novice against it, yet the tone of this part of the chapter seems out of harmony with the spirit of good fellowship that pervades much of the book. There is an elaborate chapter on the prairie hen, which Eastern men about to try "chickens" for the first time will do well to study. Mr. Sandys relates many entertaining incidents of his hunting experience. His keenness of observation and quickness in seizing an opportunity make him a clever hunter, and, as his stories show, he is an excellent shot. He has considerable fluency in description, and writes in a free, somewhat unconventional style; indeed, he now and then uses expressions which, suited perhaps to the exigencies of the hunting field, are yet hardly picturesque enough to call for publication. A chapter by Mr. T. S. Van Dyke describes the quail and grouse of the Pacific Coast, and shows how difficult it is to hunt them successfully.

—In writing a history of Scotland for the Cambridge Historical Series (Macmillan), Prof. P. H. Brown makes his second volume embrace the period between the accession of Mary Stuart and the Revolution of 1689. From the preface to the first volume we inferred that the work would eventually be brought down to the date of the legislative union, if indeed it did not, like Sir Henry Craik's 'Century of Scottish History,' extend to recent times. There is no preface to the second volume, nor are we able to gather from the public announcement that the narrative will be carried forward to either the eighteenth or the nineteenth century. We hope, however, to see the conclusion of a work which, if left at the overthrow of James II. and VII., will omit many of the most striking episodes in Scottish annals. It is not that Professor Brown writes or strives to write picturesquely. His pages, even when he is dealing with Mary, Darnley, and Bothwell, are colorless; but because he is learned, dispassionate, and direct, his version of those events which have given rise to so much romance is the more sure to be worth having. Viewed by itself, the second volume of Professor Brown's history is, as every sketch of Scottish history from 1542 to 1689 must be, an account of religious feud and mutual persecution. Of its two main topics the first is "The Religious Revolution," the second "The Crown and the Kirk." To steer an even course between Romanists and Protestants, between Episcopalians and Covenanters, can be no easy matter for one who has been born and bred in Scotland. Professor Brown is enabled to avoid many a dilemma by reducing his own comment to a minimum, but

he can also lay claim to the merit of disinterestedness. Nor is he unduly swayed by feelings of patriotism, although he is willing to defend his countrymen from the unjust charge of having sold their king. His comment upon the action of the Scots towards Charles I. in 1646 runs thus: "That the coincidence of the payment of arrears should be malevolently construed by party feeling was in the nature of things: calmly viewed in the light of actual facts, the conduct of the Scots bears no such construction." These two volumes of Professor Brown form a most useful compendium of Scottish history to the accession of William and Mary.

—A notable discussion of the Flinders Petrie Papyri, in relation to Platonic text criticism, came before the Oxford Philological Society recently in a paper by Professor Burnet of St. Andrews. He adverted to the bitter and fruitless controversy, in the course of which some scholars had made a determined onslaught on the authority of one of the oldest of extant MSS., the Clark MS., while others, feeling that philology risked losing all scientific precision if such views were to prevail, were betrayed into equal acrimony against the Papyri. Without specifying the details of the controversy, Professor Burnet urged that "no such thing existed as a critical apparatus to the 'Phædo'" which could form the basis of a reasonable comparison between the Petrie Papyrus fragments and what should be called our MS. traditions. To fix this latter we required not the reading of one MS., however good; but, "so far as is possible," our standard should be "the common archetype of all our MSS." Nor should we neglect the "indirect tradition," chiefly accessible through casual quotations made by writers such as Iamblichus and Stobæus. Those who used the edition of Schanz for the text of the 'Phædo' too often forgot, he feared, that all Platonic students, Schanz included, had "completely altered their views" as to the history of the Platonic text of that dialogue. The Clark MS. was taken by Schanz as primarily infallible: where it erred, he corrected it from any MS., however derived, that helped him out. This very frequently chanced to be a MS. written for Cardinal Bessarion, which Schanz freely used to patch the rents of the Clark MS. At least two neglected MSS., one in Venice and one in Vienna, must be brought into line, Professor Burnet maintained, before we can have the data necessary for establishing our MS. tradition. This he had done for the Venice MS. in his edition of the 'Phædo,' and was now in a position to do for the Vienna MS., thanks to the great courtesy of Professor Král. With the coöperation of his pupils he had now a full critical apparatus for all the fragments of the 'Phædo' contained in the Petrie Papyrus.

—This he laid before the Society in print, thus enabling his hearers to note the variations of the Clark (B), the Venice (T), and the Vienna (W) MSS. along with the full text of the Papyrus fragments. His apparatus contained also the "indirect tradition," wherever it was available and of use. Inferences drawn against the Clark MS. because of its manifest errors, often corrected by Schanz from Bessarion's MS., were quickly shown not to hold good of its

archetype, *i. e.*, the common original of (B), (T), and (W). Else, why were all the readings which the papyrus shared with Bessarion's MS. to be found in (T), the Venetian MS., while most of them were also in (W), the Vienna MS.? Plainly their absence from the Clark MS. was a mere accident. Thus the divergence between the Papyrus and our MS. tradition was, he maintained, very much diminished, and Co-bet's theory of the sole authority of the Clark MS. was proved to be fundamentally unsound without in the least detracting from the authority of its archetype. The freshness and fulness of Professor Burnet's treatment of Platonic textual criticism evidenced by these few extracts from his paper shows how fortunate American scholars must account it that he has now in his hands, for ultimate publication, the notes on the scholia of the Clark MS. so laboriously made by the late Prof. F. D. Allen, during the year which he spent at Oxford. These our lamented compatriot left unpublished only because he did not live to do the similar work which he had definitely in mind on the Venetian MS. (T). This work Professor Burnet, so far as he has not done it already, is about to do in connection with his edition of the Platonic text partially issued by the Clarendon Press.

THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE IN THE FAR WEST.

The American Fur Trade in the Far West:

A History of the Pioneer Trading-Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains, and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fé. By Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. New York: Francis P. Harper. 1902. Three volumes, pp. xxiv + 1,029. Maps and illustrations.

The first commercial foundations of New England were codfish, and St. Louis was still more decidedly founded on fur. The fur trade, however, though a leading industry from the start, was largely local till 1806. In that year the return of Capt. Lewis from the Pacific, without losing a man from a party of more than thirty, during three years, among tribes which had been considered hostile, and with tidings of the most coveted furs throughout the transcontinental routes, was the beginning of a boom in fur trading which, though chronicled as moribund in 1843, is still very much alive (p. 109).

Self-centred individual traders at once ventured very far and came back rich in beaver. The American Fur Company, the first one organized, within two years of its birth had established a post 2,824 miles up the great river, at the three forks, where it first gets its name Missouri. The ample proposition which hope makes in all designs, here as elsewhere failed in the promised largeness, yet the association lasted twenty-five years and was the grandest corporation for the quarter of a century. The organization, including every trader of distinction in St. Louis, excluded outside partners and, unfortunately, John Jacob Astor, who would have given the financial backing-up which, when troubles came in battalions, was a vital necessity for winning profitable results. They were too sure of success to succeed.

Though the Missouri front door was thus shut, the New York capitalist, besides doubling his fur business in the sphere of the Great Lakes, resolved to penetrate the central fur-bearing fastnesses single-handed, and that from both the East and the West. Accordingly, he enrolled a band of overlancers larger than that which Jefferson had sent under Lewis. These partisans, following in the track of Lewis, made a forced march to the Pacific more swiftly than that Columbus of the Columbia could. At the mouth of the great river of the West, these adventurers combined with as large a party of Astor's men in a ship which he had dispatched round Cape Horn. Astor's purpose was that an annual ship from New York should supply the wants of Astoria, take on board the furs from Columbia valley posts, add to them others from Russians in Alaska, with whom the Tsar had allowed him to trade, pass on to China, the best of all fur markets, and come home full-freighted with the most salable Celestial spoils, *spolia vere opima*.

The end would have crowned this world-wide work but for the war of 1812. Notwithstanding this catastrophe, ultimate triumph must have been sure had not Astor's wisdom proved, in one particular, egregious folly. On both land and sea expeditions his officers and men had been selected from those most capable and experienced in Canadian companies, and hence proved to be very largely British subjects. Consequently, when the war came, none served Astor but constrained things whose hearts were absent. His interests were sacrificed, and Astoria was unconditionally surrendered, both financially and politically, when Americans could and would have held that fort, and thus all Oregon, against all comers. "The great purpose of the enterprise, the skill with which it was planned, the far-reaching relation which it bore to the future of the United States, and the loss of life and property in the attempt to carry it out, were worthy of a better fate" (p. 238).

Astor's faith in fur never failed nor flagged. He enlarged his operations, bought out the Mackinaw Company, soon had a thousand salaried officials, and became lord paramount on the upper Mississippi. In 1819 he legally established his legal right to bring his Canadians up the Missouri—that is, labor better and withal cheaper than he could hire in the States. In 1821 he induced Congress to abolish national factories among the Indians, which had been ruinous to private enterprises, and the next year he fixed his headquarters in St. Louis. Several corporations and a host of persons adventuring from that base had accumulated more or less of wealth, yet their prosperity was seldom lasting. A brief run of ill luck had been a killing frost to many a consummate flower of hope. Astor, after all, entered this arena among many competitors. One of them, Ashley, drew a greater prize than Astor ever grasped at a single swoop, and then relinquished the field of fur for matrimony and politics. But the more others accumulated, the more sanguine grew the invader from the North. His compulsive course knew no retiring ebb. He purchased both a St. Louis company of long standing and a new firm which Boston men had set up, disarmed others by mergers and consolidations; and, as in other oppositions, the longest purse was sure

to win. The company to which Ashley, after a checkered four years with a lucrative close, gave place, ended four years of similar alternations by selling out to mountaineers—the so-called experts in reaping fur harvests in the Rocky Mountains. These men, within another Presidential term, had set successful traps in every highland fastness of fur-bearers, but had been so overreached by the lowland city merchants, from whom came inevitably the tools of their trade, that they were then swallowed by Astor's anaconda. What an imperial autocrat he became is shadowed forth by his bust on a grand medal that was stamped and circulated for buncombe among the Indians. This token or totem—officially styled an "ornament," to dodge accusations of lese-majesty—easily supplemented the effigies of kings and presidents which previously had been current fetishes as signs of sovereignty. The obverse legend was "President of the American Fur Company." The reverse, beneath significant emblems, bore the mysterious capitals U. M. O., which were interpreted "Upper Missouri Outfit."

But this monarch, sagacious from afar of furs failing to his hunters, as whales failed to Nantucket sailors—and of silk hats which roused ominous conjectures about future markets—in 1834, when his years were more than three-score and ten, resigned his Western empire for a consideration to Chouteau & Co. His American Fur Company, under these heirs, lasted thirty years longer. The new firm, who undertook to keep liquor out of the Indian country, were so reinforced by national functionaries that they successfully outlived all competing lines. Bridger, easily the preëminent mountaineer, remained in charge of one of their extensive outfits till he built the fort which still bears his name, on a water which flows into the Pacific, as a way-station for emigrants. The year was 1843, a date which marks the termination of the fur trade as described in these volumes.

The trade in furs, as thus concentrated within four decades, will seem to many too small a matter to be spread over a thousand pages. Such, however, cannot be the sober second thought of thorough readers, who must lay down the book asking for more words regarding a necessary and critical stage in our history, both pathfinding and epoch-making—preparative for domestic expansion and trans-Pacific relations—and not without influences on both. The subject has never before been treated in its entirety, and it is here dealt with by Capt. Chittenden so well that, as to all prominent features, his volumes must be a finality. His whole career has accomplished him for the work. One of the first three cadets who were graduated from West Point in 1824, his stations ever since in Government service have been in the West, except that, in the Spanish war, he was chief engineer of the Fourth Army Corps. During the last decade he has been much in the Yellowstone Park, of which he is now in charge, and concerning which the best octave ever published is his writing. His main function, however, has been superintending reservoirs and other expedients for improving the navigation of that Missouri which was from first to last the "head-centre" of the industry which fills his book. This river, in all its length of 2,945 miles, and in many of its ramifica-

tions, has come under his inspection, both in his tour of duty and in his labor of love. His headquarters, whether in the National Park, in St. Louis, or in Sioux City, are coigns of vantage. While posted in the last place, he designed and had in charge the erection of the Floyd obelisk, the most exact reproduction of the Karnak model. He has had in hand all known printed books on his theme, including "that very unusual treasure," the adventures of the Prince of Wied, the only reliable authority concerning the earliest period. This rare and admirable production has yielded many quotations, and some engravings earlier than Catlin's and drawn by the Prince's artist. Many details he has gleaned from trans-Mississippi newspapers, which exist each only in a single file and have never before been scrutinized. Manuscripts, also, which have come down from fur-trade principals and subordinates, have now for the first time been detected and examined. Critical judgments, whether of authors or of facts and possible fables, are numerous, and disclose research, judicial fairness, and love of truth.

To explain the bearings and characteristic peculiarities of the fur trade is the author's first endeavor. Then follows the narrative of events in chronological order. This section, which forms the bulk of the work, and this only, will be read by those who care nothing for side-lights. But others will not neglect the division where contemporary events of influence on fur business are passed in review. The Captain's Dedication is, in part, "In honor of the forgotten heroes who first explored our great unknown, bearing the standard of peaceful commerce," etc. Therefore, the romantic biographical series could not be spared. While every monograph is easy reading, pathetic or sympathetic, none is so thrilling as that of a sort of Stonewall Jackson, who appears more than thirty times in the body of the book. This hero was one O. Smith, whose Christian name, Jedidiah, befitted his nature better than can be felt without referring to II. Samuel, xii:25. The final division is a survey of the world "out West," its orography, fauna, flora, and native tribes, such as no scientist could write without long and loving personal observation. The appendix presents eight documents of illustrative value, never before gathered together and in part hitherto unprinted.

We cannot emphasize enough the national importance of this elaborate work. No one can pass it by on the other side who seeks to understand the rise and progress of Americanism in the larger half of our territory.

MORE LISZT LETTERS.

Franz Liszt's Briefe an die Fürstin Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein. Vols. III. and IV. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Franz Liszt died on July 31, 1886. His last letter to the Princess Wittgenstein is dated July 6 of the same year. The first he addressed to her bears the date of February, 1847. Thus his correspondence with the Princess covers nearly forty years, and the sum total of it makes 1,566 printed pages, without her answers. One sometimes longs to see those answers; not so much because Liszt refers to them as "superb and sub-

lime," for that may be merely the hyperbolic language of a friend; but because she knew more about Liszt and his compositions than any one else, and often referred to them in her letters in a way to call for his modest protests. "What a remarkable woman!" Baron von Liebig once said to Liszt. "I have never met her like! In one hour she can squeeze out of the wisest and wittiest savant all there is in him." She certainly must have done much, by her enthusiastic encouragement, to stimulate Liszt's creative powers during all the years when the professional world was so bitterly hostile to his compositions. But if she had done nothing but cause him to write these letters, she would have earned the lasting gratitude of the musical world. She constantly urged him to write more about his work and his inmost thoughts, and it is no doubt largely owing to this that his letters become more and more interesting, the last volume being the most absorbing of the four.

If the letters of the Princess are ever printed, they will probably fill more volumes than Liszt's, for she was a most voluminous writer. Her great work was a treatise 'Des Causes Intérieures de la Faiblesse Extérieure de l'Église,' in twenty volumes. This she finished shortly before her death, not quite seven months after Liszt's. There are frequent references to it in these letters. Once he hints that she would have done better to divide one of the volumes into two; they contained nearly 1,000 pages each! On another occasion he refers to the work as her *stupendo libro*; and compares its glowing descriptions to the paintings of Makart and Breughel. Still, he was probably not much in sympathy with it, and promises, "since you ask it," not to "speak about it any more." In a letter he tries to calm her suspicion that he is not interested in her book, but adds: "In truth, I know nothing about politics or religion; hence three-fourths of your work is beyond my comprehension." Some of the chapters, it appears, were printed anonymously and incurred the warning censure of the Index; whereupon Liszt wrote that he would have gladly spent the rest of his life in prison or in a hospital to save her this painful experience; and he exhorts her to submit patiently to the Church. He was all his life a devout Catholic, yet several of his letters indicate that he was as liberal in religious as in musical matters, reading the works of Renan and David Strauss with as much relish as those of the orthodox writers.

Of his liberality in matters musical these letters afford many new illustrations. He knew that several prominent musicians, notably Joachim, Rubinstein, and Berlioz, all of whom he had befriended, expressed their disapproval of his compositions with quite unnecessary insistence and bitterness; yet this did not in the least change his feelings towards them personally, or prevent him from expressing his admiration of their works. When Joachim was to give a concert in Venice, Liszt wrote: "I prefer not to come across Joachim, who has behaved in a more than singular manner towards me." A few days later he wrote from Budapest: "Joachim, whom I ever regard as the greatest master of the violin, will play here next week. I shall applaud him with pleasure." Some weeks later he had the satisfaction of writing that he had dined with Joachim, and that friendly relations

had been reestablished after a break of twenty years. Géza Zichy, he adds, afterwards told him that Joachim had confided to him that he felt himself at fault in his attitude towards Liszt. "Cela m'est une satisfaction tacite."

While fully cognizant of Rubinstein's shortcomings, Liszt sincerely admired him both as pianist and as composer, and remained on the friendliest terms with him. "Son talent," he declares, "est complet et d'une étonnante vigueur et opulence." He refers to Rubinstein's plan of going to America to earn \$50,000 in order that he might have leisure to devote a few years to uninterrupted composition. Rubinstein's plan to "composer la Bible" interested him at first; but subsequently he came to the conclusion that Handel and Mendelssohn had exhausted the possibilities in this line, and left little for the *épigones* to say. The fact that Rubinstein had bitterly reproached certain women for their Liszt and Wagner enthusiasm Liszt treats almost as a joke rather than as an offence; and he cordially wishes Rubinstein "an operatic success as great as that which he enjoys as a pianist." As regards Berlioz, Liszt points out that, outside of the "new German" party (of which Liszt was the leader), Berlioz had, in 1868, few adherents. Liszt did everything he could for him in Germany, whereas Berlioz belonged to a clique of Parisian critics who held that Liszt subverted all the laws of harmony, rhythm, and melody. The so-called "Wagner-Liszt-Berlioz" school can hardly be called a happy family. Liszt alone liked both of his colleagues; Wagner liked Liszt as a composer, but he had no use for Berlioz, and Berlioz detested both Liszt and Wagner. It is doubtless to the spiteful remarks on Wagner in Berlioz's private correspondence that Liszt alludes when he writes: "Our illustrious and too embittered [*enaméré*] friend does not profit by the posthumous appearance of his letters. His name, Hector, did not bring him good luck—Achilles Wagner having come out as winner in the field of contemporary music-drama."

The principal opponent of Liszt, in the days of his youth, was the pianist Thalberg; but even him he bore no grudge, and actually subscribed a hundred francs towards his statue in Naples! "My heart is absolutely ignorant of all hatred," he writes in one letter; and in another he emphasizes the fact that he feels himself becoming more and more *selbstlos*—more interested in others than in himself. He is constantly vowing that he will never again play the piano in public or in private. In Vienna he once said to a hostess: "Put me out of doors, madam, but don't put me at the piano!" and he repeatedly commends Rossini and others for their tact in not asking him to play. Yet, while he did not earn one franc with his piano during the last thirty-eight years of his life, we constantly find him volunteering to play in public for some charitable or artistic purpose; and to the end of his life he continued to play for his pupils and to spend hours at the piano perusing MSS. sent him by young composers in quest of his advice and encouragement.

In the summer of 1880, Hans von Bülow exercised, as Liszt puts it, "une sorte de terrorisme" over about twenty of Liszt's pupils, whom he informed bluntly that only three or four of them were either prepared

or worthy to take lessons of him. Bülow, though sometimes generous, had none of Liszt's amiability. Liszt recalls the notice Bülow had pasted over his door: "In the morning not to be disturbed; in the afternoon not in"; also, his quarrel with the manager of the Berlin Opera, which he referred to as the "Circus Hülse," with subsequent apology to the proprietor of a circus in Berlin; also his pun about the "Spon-tinische Sümpfe" (Marshes), and, apropos of a certain tenor, the "Schweineritter" (Schwanenritter) Lohengrin. Bülow did know how to hate, the Jews above all. Liszt also was accused of having expressed decided opinions on this subject, but he denies it in his letters. He fully realized that "the Jews constitute at present the decisive majority in music, here and everywhere. Nothing surprising in this—they rule the two greatest Powers in the world, the Bourse and the Press."

There is, of course, a good deal about Wagner in these letters, and about the Bayreuth festivals of 1876 and 1882. Again and again Liszt calls attention triumphantly to Wagner's growing popularity and success, and again and again he repeats his conviction that the "Ring of the Nibelung" is the crowning art work of the century. During the preliminary rehearsals of 1875 for the first Bayreuth festival, Wagner gathered 150 of his friends about him in his house and made a speech, "the leading idea of which was that music had the mission of regenerating and vivifying all the arts of the century." Another interesting incident, heretofore overlooked by the biographers, is noted by Liszt—a reading given by Wagner at Minister Schleinitz's, in Berlin, at which Moltke and nearly the whole of the diplomatic corps were present. Bismarck, it seems, visited Wagner, who, however, received no invitation from the imperial family. Subsequently the Emperor atoned for this by attending the Bayreuth festival. With all his adoration of Wagner, Liszt was not blind to his foibles and eccentricities. "What singular folly," he wrote to the Princess in 1868, with reference to Wagner, "to wish to fill the whole world with himself—with the result that he only makes himself more and more discontented and melancholy." One of his retorts in defence of Wagner may also be cited. He was never afraid to speak his mind in face of royalty, and when Queen Olga of Württemberg said to him that, in the opinion of the most learned professors of aesthetics, the "Ring des Nibelungen" was absurd and impossible of performance, he replied that infallibility was not an attribute of professors.

In the last volume there are many references to the biography which Lina Ramann had undertaken to write. Liszt did all he could to facilitate her task; but he constantly urged her to reduce the story of his life to a minimum, and to give most of her space to his works. In these his interest was maintained to the end, though he speaks with excessive modesty of their worth. He grew tired of life years before the end came. He suffered the penalty of fame in the large sacrifices of time called for—"je m'irrite souvent de pâtir des misères qu'inflige la célébrité," as he puts it—and he had not Wagner's courage or indifference to the world to bury himself, as his friend did, in Switzerland. To the last year his home was tripartite—Rome, Wei-

mar, and Budapest—and the frequent journeys became more and more fatiguing. He always disliked to be questioned regarding his health; but he does not hesitate to inform the Princess of his growing *tadium vite*. This chord is first struck in 1877, nearly a decade before the end. "Without wishing to complain, I often suffer from existence—my body has retained its health, my mind has not." Four years later: "Without being blasé, I am extremely tired of life." Instead of congratulating his son-in-law, Ollivier, on the advent of a child, he wrote: "You know what sad thoughts infants give me—their future is exposed to so many unpleasant chances." After Wagner's death: "You know my gloomy views on life—to die seems simpler than to live." And once more, in 1885, "Ma fatigue de vivre est extrême." He had written to the Princess, as early as 1869, that he wanted a simple funeral—not like Rossini's—no music, no parade, no discourse; and he asked that his epitaph should be: "Et habitabunt recti cum vultu tuo." These words were inscribed on his tomb at Bayreuth.

A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza. By Harold H. Joachim. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1901. 8vo, pp. 316.

For the Cartesians and the intellect of Continental Europe at the time Spinoza wrote, geometry, as presented in the first book of Euclid's Elements, was the very exemplar of what science should aim at being. From our modern point of view, geometry is a triumph of instinctive good sense; but it is not entitled to be called a positive science, since it makes no critical examination of the truth of its assumptions. Its abridged style of exposition will answer for a subject where an almost unerring instinct guides us; but in itself that style is utterly vicious as not half setting forth the thought. In all this, Spinoza felt himself obliged to imitate Euclid in order to maintain his pretensions to science. His philosophy was deep, out of the common ways of thinking, and intelligible only from peculiar points of view; so that it would have been difficult enough to understand had it been ever so lucidly presented. Clothed, as it is, in the garb of Euclid, the 'Ethic' is one of the most enigmatical books that ever were written. The most curious circumstance about it is that a logical writing which Spinoza left unfinished at his death, shows that the Euclidean form of the 'Ethic' was utterly untrue to the author's own way of thinking. Those assumptions which, when stated as definitions and axioms, seem to come from nowhere, bursting upon us like bolts out of the blue, had really been subjected by Spinoza to the critical examination of a sort of inductive logic.

The 'Ethic Demonstrated in Geometrical Order' appeared posthumously in 1677. It had been ready for the press since 1675, and had been seen by some of Spinoza's inmost friends in earlier forms at least ten years before. Attacks upon it began promptly upon its publication, if not earlier. For half a generation they were plentiful. This was the period of its ill-fame, during which good Thomas Moore could exclaim, "So, then, wood, mire, lead, and dung are God!" and when Toland invented the inappropriate word *pantheist* on purpose to describe its author. Long before the middle of the

eighteenth century it had come to be regarded as settled that Spinoza had merely developed a few ideas that had been thrown out by Descartes, and that his notions had been definitively exploded. This opinion received something of a shock when, in 1780, Lessing declared himself a Spinozist, although mistakenly; and an interesting discussion of Lessing's supposed Spinozism followed between F. H. Jacobi and Moses Mendelssohn. Then, Herder confessed to a sort of Spinozism, as later did Goethe. The system could not, after such events, well sink back into obscurity. About 1816 H. C. W. Sigwart began that more careful and critical study of what Spinoza really did mean to which many writers have contributed in a fuller and fuller stream of literature to this day, until the study may now almost take rank as a special branch of science, Spinozology. Certainly, the last word about it has not yet been said. Perhaps the problem is insoluble. At any rate, beyond a certain point, any opinion that can at present be put forth must rank as a merely personal one. In 1852, an important book by Spinoza was brought to light, together with many significant letters. Since then, the data of the problem remain un-augmented.

The present work consists of a commentary upon the 'Ethic' based upon a very careful and well-considered study of the whole of the writings of Spinoza, together with those of the cream of his commentators, some two dozen in number, not, however, including several that were well worthy of attention, such as the book of Berendt and Friedländer, that of Höfding, and one or two extremely important papers in the journals. In the reviewer's opinion, some of the interpretations of Mr. Joachim are entirely inadmissible; yet the book will be esteemed by all students of Spinoza. For beginners in the study, it has one particular merit, that of recognizing the accidental character of the geometrical form of the 'Ethic,' and, in the main, ignoring that form in the exposition. To go into further particulars about the truth of the rendering of Spinoza's thought would only be setting one unproved opinion against another.

We will venture, however, upon one remark, which is overlooked by Mr. Joachim and most of the other commentators. It is that, educated in Holland when he was, the notions of philosophy which Spinoza first received, and which, in the main, form the bed-rock upon which he built, naturally would come, and it is easy to see that they did come, from the Dutch reformed peripatetics of that time, Burgersdyk, Heereboord, and the others. There is no trace in Spinoza of any direct acquaintance with mediæval scholasticism. The Dutch Aristotelians were influenced to a considerable, but limited, extent by scholastics. This bed-rock of conceptions was overlaid in Spinoza's mind by pretty wide philosophical reading. The influence of Bruno, Descartes, Hobbes, for example, is plainly discernible. But the main features of his philosophy are consistent with Aristotelianism slightly modified, and not at all so with the other doctrines which subsequently influenced him.

There is no philosopher of whom there is more quite unprofitable study than Spinoza. In order to study any philosophy with due profit, it is necessary to understand it;

and, in order to understand it, it is necessary to begin by placing one's self in the state of mind of the author at the beginning of his speculations and follow out the course of his thoughts. We ought not to say that there is no good at all in pursuing philosophical reflections with a book open before us which we do not understand; but in order to study the works of a given philosopher with the profit that they may afford, there is no other way than that we describe. First of all, then, in order to study Spinoza with profit, it is requisite to soak one's mind in the general way of thinking of the Dutch Aristotelians, and this will be far from being in itself the valueless study which our Cartesian prepossessions (for such still prevail) lead us to imagine it to be. But all those philosophers wrote in Latin, and their works are untranslated. Next, it will be indispensable, in order to understand Spinoza, to take minute account of all his writings, the rest of which are not composed in the enigmatical style of the 'Ethic.' One of these writings is in Dutch, the rest in Latin. Under these circumstances, the fact that some half-dozen English translations, partial translations, and paraphrases of the 'Ethic' are in circulation (one, at least, in a second edition), while none of the other necessary aids are extant in English, is sufficient proof that the 'Ethic' is chiefly read by numbers of persons who never penetrate the Euclidean husk to reach the real meat of the book beneath. The truth is, it is the style that attracts readers to the book, the style of Euclid. To an unprepared student who cannot control his curiosity about the book and is determined to dip into it, we would say, At least, take Mr. Joachim's book along with Spinoza's text; and remember that even then, in the opinion of the majority of Spinozologists, you are only making a moderate approach to the true philosophy of Spinoza.

Gabriele Rossetti: A Versified Autobiography. Translated and Supplemented by William Michael Rossetti. London: Sands; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1902.

The bulk of literature about the Rossettis bids fair to equal that about Stevenson; and possibly posterity may be puzzled to understand the taste of a generation which required so much of either. In his book on his father, Mr. W. M. Rossetti seems to have exhausted the family revelations, until the time shall come for his own letters and diaries to be printed.

Gabriele Rossetti, the father of Maria, Christina, Dante Gabriel, and William, deserved and has received some biographical memorial in Italian; we doubt whether any one, unless he be a blind worshipper of the Rossetti cult, will urge that a similar memorial was needed in English. In Italy the elder Rossetti first made a name as an improvisatore. When the Carbonari revolution broke out in Naples in 1820, he became its "Tyrtæus," and when it was suppressed he escaped death by flight; and spent the last thirty years of his life in honorable exile in England, dying in London in 1854 at the age of seventy-one. For many years, until his health failed, he was Professor of Italian in London University. Dante students remember him as the author of some astonishing theories of the hidden meaning of the 'Divine Comedy,'

theories compared with which the late Ignatius Donnelly's aberrations in Shakspeare criticism seem tame. As his semi-public life, his poetry, and his prose works were all Italian, the only excuse for presenting an English biography of him is that his remarkable children belong among the makers of Victorian literature or painting.

The versified autobiography which forms the core of the present volume was written in rhymed sextets a few years before their author died. Mr. Rossetti has translated them into a rhymeless doggerel which he calls blank verse. In the original they may have charm; the translation is a weary task for even a long-suffering reader—how weary, a few specimens will show. Here is how Rossetti records his appointment as professor:

"Stately an University had risen
In this enormous capital of the realm:
And now the Council, from whose midst emerged
Such ample learning sacred and profane,
Offered me of its own accord, the chair
Allotted to Italian literature."

Again, he tells us of his wife,

"That she both speaks and writes three high-
prized tongues,
Which rank 'mong Europe's choicest and most
rich;
And, when their authors she was studying,
She culled the flower of the three literatures."

He spares no details of his bodily infirmities, e. g.:

"Worn down and down by bronchial sufferings,
From January until September increased,
I yet, exhaling in my verse my woes,
Nurtured my mind with patriotic thoughts."

The filial piety which could translate several thousand lines of this sort certainly deserves the palm; but is there not such a thing as filial discretion? The portrait which Gabriele Rossetti draws of himself shows us a kindly, virtuous, domestic man, who mistakes his fluency and versatility for genius, regards his literary performances with great complacency, and bears his exile patiently, but not without the self-consciousness common to most banished patriots. Fortunately, the son spares us some parts of the autobiography, filling the gaps thus left by pages of interesting prose which, with the many footnotes, relieve the dreary text. The poet's references to Italian, and especially to Neapolitan, political events, and to his contemporaries who took part in them, afford an excuse for much elucidation of semi-historical value. We cannot but feel that had Mr. Rossetti given a prose abstract of the autobiography, he could have preserved whatever is of interest in it and spared us its banalities, which, in his blank verse, become intolerable.

The rest of the book contains several letters from Gabriele Rossetti to his wife and to Charles Lyell; letters from Seymour Kirkup and Mazzini; and six of his own poems. The domestic letters have a few references to the since famous children, and disclose the straits in which the family lived. Those to Lyell, the translator of Dante's 'Canzoniere,' deal chiefly with Dante. Lyell gave sympathetic attention to Rossetti's theory of the hidden purpose of Dante's works; perhaps he accepted it. What that theory was, Rossetti himself states in a nutshell as follows:

"It is impossible to continue without exhibiting the most intimate mysteries of the sect, seeing that the entire poem of Dante, all the lyrics of Petrarca, almost all the works of Boccaccio, and, in fine, all the old writings of that class, are nothing else than downright doctrine and practice of the Freemasons, in the strictest acceptation of the word. Such was the Gay Science, such

the Platonic love, such the sect of the Templars, and that of the Paulicians. . . . But it is dangerous to consign the work to the public, and the chief danger is this: The demonstration cannot be rightly founded, so as to defy confutation, without citing in confirmation the writings of St. Paul and those of St. John."

For prudence' sake, Rossetti refrains from doing this, and so "is compelled to stop short at the effects, and leave the cause unexplained, which makes less visible and tangible the reality of the assumption."

This was in 1832; by 1836 he had discovered that "Origen and Tertullian, as well as Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene," and "especially Swedenborg," had used his patent mystic key. By 1840 he got confirmation from Raphael's sonnets, from Pico della Mirandola, Molza, St. Bernard, Cecco d'Ascoli, etc. "Oh, how much can be gathered from the Latin writings of Poliziano!" he exclaims; far more than even from those of Tasso." The present writer, not being a Freemason, can merely add: "What could be simpler?"

The letters from Seymour Kirkup have permanent value, because they describe the discovery, due principally to Kirkup, of Giotto's portrait of Dante in the Bargello. Kirkup sent Rossetti a tracing of the fresco made immediately after it was uncovered, before the inevitable restorer—against whose whole tribe he inveighs bitterly—had time to injure it. The eleven letters from Mazzini to Rossetti have slight significance, but the twelfth, addressed to a fellow-conspirator, "Corso," and signed "Strozzi," has much interest as an example of the mingled zeal and reasoning with which Mazzini infused his ideas into his followers. The six poems at the end show Rossetti at his best. He was not a great poet, but no one can deny that he was, in spite of effusiveness which now seems somewhat out of taste, a worthy patriot. As such, he did real service to the Italian cause by living an honorable life in England.

Horæ Latinæ: Studies in Synonyms and Syntax, by the late Robert Ogilvie, M.A., LL.D., edited by Alexander Souter, M.A. With a memoir by Joseph Ogilvie, M.A., LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co. 1901. Pp. xviii, 339.

In the last twenty years Latin lexicography has been a subject of growing interest, but relatively little attention has been paid to the synonyms in the Latin language. To treat the subject well requires wide reading, careful observation, and, above all, delicate discrimination, for it is not given to every one to detect the finer shades of meaning in words; and the difficulty of the task is increased by the fact that writers, even good writers, are sometimes negligent or inconsistent, and disagree in usage one with another. Often one word is used instead of another merely for the sake of variety, and so the sharp lines of demarcation are blurred. Undoubtedly, the word *mortalis* connotes something different from *homo*, and its sphere of usage is restricted, but Sallust used *multi mortales* for *multi homines* mainly for alliterative effect. One must constantly be on one's guard against too broad generalizations, and the subjective element must be held in check. The late

Dr. Ogilvie, with a long educational experience, seems to have pursued the subject of synonyms *con amore* and with great independence, and the results seem to justify the opinion of his brother, that he had exceptional qualifications for the undertaking. Unhappily, he was not permitted to see his work through the press, or give to it the finishing touch. The editing, however, has been skilfully done by Mr. Alexander Souter, a pupil of the great Ciceronian scholar, Professor J. S. Reid, and the only British authority engaged upon the 'Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.'

"The principal object of the work," as stated in the editor's Explanatory Note, "is to aid the composer of Latin prose in selecting the proper equivalents of about 500 English expressions." The arrangement of these English expressions is alphabetical from *An* to *Younger*, but there follows an index of the Latin words treated. Cicero, as was to be expected, is the writer most drawn upon for illustration, but there are abundant quotations from Plautus, Terence, Cæsar, Nepos, Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Horace, and some from other writers, often with apt translations which admirably set forth the point at issue. Incidentally syntax comes up for consideration, as, for example, under *If*, where the various forms of conditions are passed in review, and under *Do not*, where reference is made to the American contributions to the subject of prohibitions by Hale, Elmer, Bennett, and Clement. This latter article was rewritten by the editor and is not altogether satisfactory. Etymologies are only rarely introduced, and were perhaps better omitted entirely. The connection of *causa* (earlier *caussa*) with *caveo* is doubtful; still more so that of *vesci* with *vivere*. No attempt is made to give all the possible expressions that may be used. Thus, under *Die*, only the verbs *mori*, *demori*, and *emori* are differentiated; under *Entreat*, only *orare* and *exorare*. *Fluvius* is distinguished from *flumen* and *amnis*, but it is not noticed that Cæsar and some other writers avoid *fluvius* entirely, while Livy is the first prose writer to make frequent use of *amnis*. It is true that *flumen* is used if the sense is metaphorical, as, *flumen orationis*, *flumen verborum*. Cicero, as Ogilvie states, uses *vis* (not *flumen*) *lacrimarum* for 'a flood of tears,' but, on the other hand, Virgil (Aen. i., 465) has *largoque umectat flumine voltum*. Space forbids our giving examples to show the author's keen discrimination and fit phrasing of distinctions.

We may note a few omissions or errors. Under *About* no mention is made of *circa* with numerals, although it is so used by Livy. The statement that "*ad*, *about*, *up to the number of* (= *ferre*)" is often used adverbially (not in Cicero)," is wrong; see *pro Cluentio* 110, "cum annos ad quinquaginta natus esset." The distinction between *ultra* and *sua sponte* is clearly made, but it should be stated that the order *sponte sua*, at first poetical, is used by Livy, by Augustus in the Monumentum Ancyranum, and by later prose writers. Whether Cicero used it *pro Sestio* 47 (cited by Ogilvie) is, perhaps, doubtful. Under *Build*, the phrase *viam munire* should be cited; under *Face*, some idiomatic uses of *os*; under *Grief*, the phrase *minuere luctum*. On p. 281, where *quondam*, *olim* and *aliquando* are discussed, the use of *olim* (= 'once upon a time') in story-telling should be mentioned, as *c. g.*,

in Horace Sat. II. 6, 79 "Olim rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur accepisse cavo." On p. 161 the plural *libertates* is said to occur only in Plautus and Tacitus (A. 15 55), but it occurs also in the Digest.

Much pains has been taken by the editor in verifying citations, and the Latin orthography is excellent; so, too, the typography in general, but it is irritating to find now and then an editor's name apparently forming part of a Latin sentence, as on page 152, where we read, as an example of *nescire*: "L.2.2.3 M. Müller nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere."

Highways and Byways in Hertfordshire. By H. W. Tompkins, F.R.Hist.S. The Macmillan Co. 1902.

The latest volume of the "Highways and Byways" series deals with a county little known to tourists. But though it is not a "show" county, no other in England is more fertile; probably no other has so large an acreage of wheat in proportion to its size; and if the British farmer can be said to flourish anywhere, he should flourish in Hertfordshire. It is not a county rich in literary associations, but its lovers, though few, have been select, and it is thickly strewn with memories of one whom Mr. Swinburne called the "best beloved of English authors." Canon Ainger says: "All through his life Hertfordshire was seldom far from Charles Lamb's thoughts, and never from his heart." He lived to see the old hall of Blakesware—the "Blakesmoor" of the essay—pulled down and "reduced to an antiquity." But he had himself immortalized it in 'Dream Children':

"When I told how good she was to all her grandchildren, having us to the great house in the holidays, where I in particular used to spend many hours by myself, in gazing upon the old busts of the Twelve Cæsars, that had been Emperors of Rome, till the old marble heads would seem to live again, or I be turned into marble with them; how I never could be tired with roaming about that huge mansion, with its vast empty rooms, with their worn-out hangings, fluttering tapestry, and carved oaken panels, with the gilding almost rubbed out, . . . strolling about among the old melancholy-looking yew trees, or the firs, and picking up the red berries, and the fir apples. . . . I had more pleasure in these busy-idle diversions than in all the sweet flavors of peaches, nectarines, oranges, and such like common baits of children."

In yet another part of "that fine corn country" lay the farmhouse of which Lamb said: "The oldest thing I remember is Mackery End." The farm itself still stands almost as in Elia's day, and Mr. Tompkins believes that it is a place of pilgrimage for pious literary Americans. The quaint houses and old churches of the county abound in antiquities concerning which Mr. Tompkins gives much curious information. All who read his pages will note, and some will highly appreciate, his knowledge and love of birds and their habits; they receive fully as much attention as the other inhabitants of those quiet villages. The villagers themselves, in spite of their nearness to London, have been little affected by modern civilization, as may be seen from the following anecdote of John Gilpin's Ware:

"Some years ago there stood upon this spot an old thatched wayside inn, kept by a man named Clibbons. Now Clibbons was wont to increase his income by nefarious practices. He went regularly to Hertford

market to sell cakes, which was well enough; but I am sorry to say that he added to his cake-selling a worse occupation. He used to frequent the busiest inns in the town, and listen furtively to the farmers and other country folk, as they chatted over their ale. When he heard that George Turmut or Jack Shorthorn had taken a good round sum for their beasts, he would waylay them as they were returning home and ease them of their money. Folks at Ware Side tell me that in the garden of the 'Fox' there was formerly a small cave in which Clibbons carefully hid his ill-gotten cash, and when danger threatened would hide there himself.

"One day, as he was returning from market in a very ill humor, he met a farmer between Widford and Ware Side. He was about to rob the farmer when a third party came up; the farmer shouted that he was likely to be murdered, and the stranger shot the cakeman on the spot. Acting on the good old adage that it is useless to cry over spilt milk, the farmer placed the body of Clibbons in his own cart, and drove it to the 'Fox,' where he was met upon the threshold by the cakeman's wife, who said she knew her man was dead an hour ago, for she had received a token from another world. I doubt whether anybody, man or woman, who has not had much personal talk with the older folk in our more quiet villages, is aware how superstitious such persons often are even in the present day. If the candle burns down in a peculiar manner, and the tallow assumes the form of a winding sheet, there is death at the door. If you have warts, you had better steal a piece of beef and bury it, and as the beef decays the warts will disappear. There are still old women who believe that their infirmities would be healed by the royal touch, and bemoan their inability to receive it; there are still old men who believe that if the horseshoe fell from their doorway in the night, sorrow would come in the morning" (p. 335).

Mr. Tompkins made his tour on foot, and, to judge from his experience, Hertfordshire is an ideal country for a walking tour; the roads are good, and comfortable, old-fashioned coaching inns abound. Knebworth, the home of Bulwer Lytton, inspires the writer with reminiscences of Dickens, Douglass Jerrold, Mark Lemon, and others of the coterie that used to assemble there in the days of the novelist.

The illustrations, by Mr. Griggs, are up to the standard set by Mr. Pennell and Mr. Hugh Thomson in the earlier volumes of the series. The studies of trees are especially good, and give an excellent idea of the leafy lanes of Hertfordshire. The volume is furnished with a map of the author's route, and an index. As a literary supplement to Baedeker, the tourist would find the book a useful and entertaining item in his luggage. One fault, or rather two, we have to find with the whole series. The books are printed on heavy sized paper, presumably for the sake of the illustrations—a serious drawback for a traveller's guide. Moreover, the binding is too weak for the weight of the volumes; that which we have just considered is already unstitched after a single reading, and we have encountered others of the series in the same plight. Strong binding and light weight would seem to be essentials for books of this class.

Garden-Craft, Old and New. By John D. Sedding. John Lane. Pp. xxvi, 213.

The present revival of the old-fashioned formal garden is due in large measure to John Sedding. His 'Garden-Craft,' printed in 1892, was the first book of which the dominant note was praise of the old way of gardening. It was a gentle book, full of love for the half-forgotten beauty of an

earlier time. It was the voice of a poet telling of the joy that he had found in going back to a manner long despised and often bitterly rejected. The book was promptly attacked by W. Robinson, author of 'The English Flower Garden,' upon whom formality in a garden has the maddening effect of red upon a bull. Rushing into print, he proceeded to characterize poor Sedding's exquisite imaginings as "drivel." Perhaps his ire was not entirely without cause, for, before his 'Garden Design and Architects' Gardens' came from the press, Blomfield's 'The Formal Garden in England' had appeared, and some of the things in it were enough to anger the mildest of landscapists. Blomfield slashed back at Robinson in the caustic preface to his second edition, and so the battles of the styles went on merrily enough.

But Sedding was not the man to enjoy polemics. He was, before all else, an artist, and his untimely death, just before the appearance of his book, deprived England of one who, by both promise and performance, held a unique position among her architects. Of the man himself, his indomitable gayety, his deep kindness, his all-pervading love of art, of his work and those high qualities that so easily distinguished it from the work of others, we may read in a memoir written by one of his dearest friends and included in this book. Whether it is the character of Sedding as revealed by the memoir, or whether it is Sedding's thoughts on gardening, that most deeply interest us, it would be hard to say. Suffice it that he approaches his subject in no narrow frame of mind. He is as ready to see and acknowledge the good in the landscape style as in the formal, and indeed he ends his book with a chapter "In Praise of Both." Yet he accomplished the thing he started out to do. He showed us how much of beauty we are losing by closing our eyes to the merits of the garden of our forefathers, and how small was our angle of vision when we refused to see good in any method but that of the attempted imitation of nature.

'Garden-Craft' has to-day a far wider circle of sympathetic readers than it had when it first appeared. Since it has for some time been out of print, and since it is a book that improves the oftener it is read, the new edition is very welcome.

The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia (Monomotapa Imperium). By R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal. With more than seventy illustrations, maps, and plans. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1902. 8vo, pp. xxvii, 396.

The existence of ancient ruins in South Africa was made known in our time by an American finding in 1868 a cyclopean wall in the forest near his hut. Though several other similar structures were found by travellers drawn to the place by his discovery, yet until recently there had been no systematic search for these remains of a bygone age. In 1895 two mining experts, W. G. Neal and G. Johnson, under a grant from the British South Africa Company, began the work of methodic exploration. The results of their investigations at the end of 1900 were, that, in a region one hundred thousand square miles in extent, south of the Zambezi, there are more than five hundred groups of ancient ruins. They are of towns, cov-

ering one to two square miles, villages and forts; the best preserved buildings being massive walls and conical towers of granite blocks laid without mortar, and displaying five different styles of ornamentation, including the chevron and dentelle. Along the banks of the streams are innumerable holes for crushing quartz with stone hammers, and small piles of quartz lying beside them; and in the cemented floors of the walled buildings are smelting-furnaces, the linings covered with specks of gold. In one district the hillsides are elaborately terraced for cultivation, irrigation being provided by artificial canals in use at the present day. There are also indications of roads lined with forts converging on the port of Sofala, where in 1505 the Portuguese found two Arab dhows laden with gold for export. A slight examination of the vast mass of debris which covers the country has brought to light, among many other things, gold ornaments, tools, fragments of crucibles and blow-pipes, soapstone beams surmounted by carved birds and phallic emblems. Thus far, however, no burial-places have been found, only some fifty human skeletons—and no inscriptions! Though these vanished peoples have left no written records to tell us of their history, the Sabæan remains of southern Arabia show such a marked similarity to the most ancient ruins as to leave no doubt as to the Asiatic origin of the earliest comers. In the second period there are distinct traces of the Phœnicians.

It is evident, reasoning from human analogy, that this land has passed through the same experience which we are now witnessing in the Transvaal. Within the last twenty years the Rand has been occupied by a multitude of goldseekers who have dugged mines, built towns, and constructed roads to the sea for the transport of their gold and supplies. So, possibly, in 3000 B. C., an Asiatic Livingstone thrilled his countrymen with the story of his adventures in a far southern land, and showed specimens of the abundant gold he had found in it. The success of the men who, inspired by his tale, sought this prehistoric El Dorado, led many more to follow their example. At length some monarch sent out a host of soldiers and slaves, it may be, and took possession of the land, built towns, forts, and highways, and made the mining industry a state enterprise.

The account of a mining engineer of a single district recently surveyed by him will give some idea of what these enterprising Asiatics accomplished: "I saw at least one hundred and fifty square miles of country composed of kopjes ranging in height from one hundred to four hundred feet, literally covered on their slopes with these stone terraces, and the valleys literally strewn with the ruins of the ancient dwellings of a former teeming population." In that district alone he estimates the amount of "manipulated ground"—that is, ground of which the "loose stones, earth, debris, etc., have been shifted and placed into position, and carried up steep hills often hundreds of feet high"—at "something like 261,733,750 tons!" These facts, as well as the depths at which the earliest ruins are in some instances buried, show that the occupation of the land by the miners must have lasted for

centuries. What brought it to a close we can only conjecture, though it was evidently not the exhaustion of the gold. Possibly the decay of the distant parent state loosened the bond connecting it with its colony and made communication difficult and dangerous, and so occasioned the withdrawal of garrisons and the gradual homecoming of the alien population. The actual end may have followed upon an uprising of the slaves or the raid of a savage tribe.

The authors of this volume modestly disclaim possession of the learning essential to presenting a theory of their own as to the origin and history of the people who have left such substantial testimony to their presence in South Africa. Their task is simply to exhibit the known facts, and they leave scholars to interpret them, though they incline to the view advocated by Prof. A. H. Keane that Rhodesia, the Monomotapa of the Middle Ages, was the land from whence came the gold which, in the days of Solomon, was "at Jerusalem as plentiful as stones." According to this theory, Tarshish, from which the ships in those days came once in three years, was Sofala, and Ophir was the distributing emporium on the south coast of Arabia. A brief statement is given by Mr. R. N. Hall of the speculations of the different archaeologists who have studied the subject, together with such historical references as throw light upon it. He has also collated and arranged the results of Mr. Neal's five years' researches and those of all other explorers, including the "investigations by many leading Rhodesians, who have long devoted considerable time to the study of this fascinating subject."

A particular description of the nearly two hundred groups of ruins which have been examined is prefaced by an account of the Great Zimbabwe, the most ancient as well as the first discovered. From a careful scrutiny of the numerous "finds," they have been able to show with almost startling distinctness the methods of the miners and goldsmiths. The ore-bearing quartz was taken from the mines to the nearest water, where it was crushed and washed. The dust was then carried to the capital town of the district, for it is in these places only that furnaces, crucibles and blowpipes are to be found; and from there the gold was transported by the fortified roads to the sea. The most important contribution to our knowledge, however, is the demonstration, by the different architectural styles and building methods, of the four periods into which this ancient occupation of the land must be divided. The vivid realization of the facts of which this work is a complete treasury is greatly helped by numerous maps, plans, and pictures of the principal ruins and the most interesting objects discovered in them. Altogether a profound impression is made of the enterprise, intelligence, and courage of these gold-seekers, the earliest of whom may have been contemporaries of the builders of the pyramids. Their civilization must have been of a high standard even when compared with our own, while their buildings, the walls of which go down to rock formation and are sometimes fifteen feet thick, are far more substantial than ours. Their mysterious fate, too, provokes the wonder whether their history "will repeat itself" in the Transvaal. These ruins certainly make it conceivable

that, in some far-distant age, men may search in the mounds that will mark the site of Johannesburg for evidence of the origin and history of the miners and builders of the nineteenth century.

The Life of John William Walshe, F.S.A.
Edited, with an introduction, by Montgomery Carmichael. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1902.

The uninitiated reader will find reason for doubts as to the nature of the literary product which confronts him here. The opening chapters are so full of realistic detail that the elaborate apparatus of the Introduction seems not needed to support the pretence, or confirm the impression, of biographic veracity. Those which follow introduce a liberal element of romance; but, before the middle of the book is reached, edification and instruction abound in measure suited only to a tract. The sensitive child of a stupid and brutal father, after woful experience at home, in a Dotheboys Hall, and in a counting-house, flees at eighteen to Italy, where he falls at once into the arms of a phenomenal English scholar. Thenceforth all is roseate, except for the hero's self-macerations, mental and physical. The blessing of Heaven and of the Church rests upon a land of grateful peasants, beneficent landlords, pure and tender-hearted priests, and confessors so wise and disinterested that they find no vocation to holy orders in the most gifted and wealthy laymen.

In this idyllic scene carnalities are merely the background, and external events have little place; we are invited to contemplate the growth of the hero's character and his exemplary habits as a student. "His own intimate life was that of a holy person of the Middle Ages in word, thought, and deed"; in later years he "was subject to ecstasies or raptures." Yet his superior intellect was singularly well furnished and systematically exercised. Heraldry, which seems here to be a peculiarly Catholic science, had done a good deal for him in youth; and Latin, which was his delight as a boy, is, of course, the only adequate tongue alike for study and for devotion. "Logic and scholastic philosophy kept him sane in his views." The Church, be it remembered, has the only accurate logic and all the methodized knowledge that is of any value; as for the world without, it lies in folly no less than in wickedness. The "literary and scientific men" of England are a surprisingly ignorant set: "the wisest of them did not know the difference between a monk and a friar, or a martyr and a confessor, or an amice and an amess," etc. (see pp. 221-2).

As all this falls naturally under the heading, "Important if True," it is as well to

know that John William Walshe, F.S.A., who "was well known to scholars as perhaps the greatest living authority on matters Franciscan," and who "died on the 2d July, 1900, aged sixty-three, at Assisi, in Umbria," is but the product of Mr. Carmichael's busy brain. To what extent his author shared the views of this alleged memoir, supposed to be written by the subject's son, since also deceased—views for which he twice humorously in notes evades responsibility—or whether he is throughout smiling over the mystification, it were considering too curiously to inquire. In either case he, as literary executor of his mythical friend, has yet to publish the thirty-four volumes of Notes on Franciscan and other topics, with numerous other MSS., and (after twenty years), the "Recollections" and Diary on which the present sketch is based.

Antarctica. By Edwin Swift Balch. Philadelphia: Press of Allen, Lane & Scott. 1902. Charts. Pp. 230.

The object of the author of this important monograph is twofold—to give a complete guide to the literature and cartography of the South Polar region, and to show that chief among its explorers is an American. Mr. Balch divides his work into three periods, the first beginning with the voyage of Amerigo Vespucci in 1502, though he refers to the conjectures of the ancients, especially of the Chaldean Seleukos, B. C. 170-125, as to the existence of a southern continent. It closes with the voyage in 1775 which gave to Capt. James Cook "the second place among antarctic explorers." The next and most important period includes the remarkable achievement of Capt. Nathaniel B. Palmer, a Connecticut sealer, who, in the sloop *Hero*, "but little rising forty tons," in 1821 discovered a group of islands which a Russian navigator, Bellingshausen, in gratitude for services rendered him by the Yankee skipper, as well as in admiration for his exploits, has called Palmer Archipelago. The U. S. Exploring Expedition in 1838-42, under the command of Lieut. Charles Wilkes, appropriately closes the review. "No finer achievement" than this voyage, says our author, "has been accomplished in the annals of the Arctic or of the Antarctic. With unsuitable, improperly equipped ships, amid icebergs, gales, snowstorms, and fogs, Wilkes followed an unknown coast line for over fifteen hundred miles." Emphasis is laid upon this because indications are not wanting of a disposition to ignore the claim of Wilkes to the honor of being the first to discover the Antarctic Continent. For instance, the name Wilkes Land given to this coast, though to be found in the *Times* Atlas, has no place on the chart in the En-

cyclopædia Britannica or in the latest edition of Chambers's Encyclopædia.

Mr. Balch briefly records what has been accomplished in the last fifty years, and closes with a reference to the English, German, and Swedish expeditions now engaged in the exploration of the Antarctic region. He adds to each of his statements a note giving his authority, and some idea of his painstaking labor may be formed from the fact that these are more than three hundred in number, and that the index includes some five hundred proper names. To his accuracy we can bear this testimony, that, after a somewhat careful examination, only one typographical error has been detected, the misspelling of Stieler on p. 164. Among the curious bits of information scattered here and there through the work is the statement "that there is no apparent record of any woman having passed beyond 60° south latitude." There are reproductions of portions of two old charts, and one by the author showing the latest discoveries.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- An English Girl in Paris. John Lane. \$1.50.
Bérard, Victor. Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée, Tome I. Paris: Armand Colin. 25 fr.
Birrell, Augustine. William Hazlitt. (English Men of Letters.) Macmillan. 75 cents.
Clarke, J. T., Bacon, F. H., and Koldewey, Robert. Expedition of the Archaeological Institute of America, Part I.; Investigations at Assos. Cambridge (Mass.): Archaeological Institute of America.
Ellis, E. S., and Horne, C. F. The Story of the Greatest Nations. Sixteen parts. Francis R. Niglutsch. 25 cents per part.
Emerton, J. H. The Common Spiders of the United States. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Gray, L. H. Indo-Iranian Phonology, with Special Reference to the Middle and New Indo-Iranian Languages. Columbia University Press (Macmillan). \$3.
Halsey, F. W. The Pioneers of Unadilla Village. Unadilla (N. Y.): Published by the Author.
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XIII. Longmans, Green & Co.
Hervey, W. A. Unter vier Augen, von Ludwig Fulda; Der Prozess, von Roderick Benedix. H. Holt & Co. 35 cents.
Huener, F. M. Rossetti: A Critical Essay on his Art. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 75 cents.
Jenkyns, Henry. British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas. Henry Frowde. 15s.
Jokl, Maurus. Told by the Death's Head. The Snafield Pub. Co. \$1.50.
Kenny, C. S. Outlines of Criminal Law. London: C. J. Clay & Sons; New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.
Lang, H. R. Cancionero Gallego-Castellano. (Xale Bicentennial Publications.) London: Edward Arnold; New York: Scribners. \$3.
Marvin, F. R. The Last Words (Real and Traditional) of Distinguished Men and Women. New ed. Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.50.
Norris, W. E. The Credit of the County. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.
Pain, Barry. The One Before. Scribners. \$1.25.
Potter, M. A. Sohrab and Rustum. London: David Nutt. 6s.
Richards, Laura E. Mrs. Tree. Boston: Dana Estes & Co. 75 cents.
Saussaye, P. D. C. de la. The Religion of the Teutons. Ginn & Co.
Seignobos, Charles. History of the Roman People. H. Holt & Co.
Sparrow, Wilfrid. Persian Children of the Royal Family. John Lane.
Tarr, R. S., and McMurry, F. M. A Complete Geography. Macmillan. \$1.
Under Sunny Skies. (Youth's Companion Series.) Ginn & Co.
Velvin, Ellen. Rataplan, a Rogue Elephant. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Co. \$1.25.
Ward, B. R. Notes on Fortifications. London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.
Willemotte, Maurice. La Belgique Morale et Politique (1830-1900). Paris: Armand Colin. 3fr. 50.
Young, C. A. Manual of Astronomy. Ginn & Co. \$2.25.

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